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The Shape of Things

HITLER HAS STRUCK AT THE MARSEILLAIS, and as might have been expected, they are hitting back. The inhabitants of the great French seaport have long been noted both for their toughness and their devotion to Republican tradition, and when forty thousand of them were ordered to leave their homes they instinctively resisted. The Nazi authorities demanded the evacuation of the Old Port district, perhaps for the purpose of building fortifications, more probably to hamstring the underground movement which had found that rabbit warren of narrow alleys and dark courts a useful base for operations. When troops moved in to clear the area, the inhabitants answered them by digging up arms and building barricades, and the Nazis have now resorted to artillery and tanks. It is no doubt a hopeless contest, but it serves as a reminder to the world that the France of the Revolution lives on. *Allons, enfants de la patrie . . .*

*

WITH THE FALL OF TRIPOLI AND THE imminent Russian threat to Rostov and Kharkov, propaganda on the Axis home front has gone into sharp reverse. For a month or more Dr. Goebbels's men tried to ease the Germans gently into the knowledge that the Wehrmacht had run into trouble all the way from Leningrad to the Caucasus. A kind of military double-talk was evolved in which a withdrawal became an "elastic defense in depth," doomed divisions became "hedgehogs," and a full retreat was simply a "detaching from the enemy according to plan." This verbal gloss has now been abruptly abandoned in favor of the strongest medicine the Herrenvolk have had to take since they inherited the earth. German papers, with orders to go the limit, have blossomed out with such heads as "The Fate of the Reich Is at Stake." The Russian sweep is compared with the German break-through from the Meuse to the English Channel, and the master race is urged to prove itself "spiritually stronger" than the once decadent and plutocratic British. These sudden shrieks of alarm reflect more than the fact that Germany has had sharp military reverses. Nazi leaders, hoping for a stabilized Russian front during the winter, had banked on returning hundreds of thousands of soldiers to the Reich to assist in the desperately needed overhauling of the transportation sys-

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tem and of factory machinery. Instead, the Nazis are now compelled to risk defeatism in order to drive home to German workers the urgency of straining every muscle to keep pace with American war production. With the Italians, the shift was even more sudden and more stunning. Up to thirty-six hours before the fall of Tripoli Italian communiqués told of "operations continuing in our favor." Signor Gayda now announces that the sacrifice of the city was carried out according to a plan worked out even before the launching of General Montgomery's drive—a kind of Rommel pay-as-you-go plan, as it were, with the Germans going and the Italians paying.

*

A STORM IS ABOUT TO BREAK OVER THE head of the American Department of State, and it remains to be seen whether its guiding spirits will know enough to come in out of the rain. Time was when only we "professional cranks" worried over the deep maneuvers of Mr. Hull's agency, but the appointment of M. Peyrouton to the governorship of Algiers has thrown the field wide open. It was last November that we introduced the temporary expedient of fighting fascism with fascists on the North African front. Now, nearly three months later, the Nürnberg laws which they introduced are still in force; Radio Algiers still broadcasts anti-Semitic propaganda; Radio Dakar still eulogizes *le Maréchal;* Spanish Loyalists remain behind barbed wire; and the man who Himmlerized France has been brought out of an obscure retreat in Argentina to become civil administrator of Algeria. Confronted with a direct question concerning the scandalous muddle in North Africa, Secretary Hull, as Mr. Stone relates elsewhere in this issue, smugly suggested keeping our minds on the war and implied that he was interested in the military aspects of the North African situation, not the political. This crowning touch of irresponsibility opened the sluicegates of public dissatisfaction. The sober New York *Herald Tribune* demanded an explanation; other papers launched a campaign to clean house in Mr. Hull's musty old quarters; Paul H. Appleby, a responsible official attached to the department, resigned in protest over the whole policy; and even Ernest K. Lindley, one of the department's most assiduous defenders, was forced to take issue with his heroes. It is widely believed that the forthcoming pronouncement on United Nations strategy will advance a solution of the North African tangle. If it does, the State Department may be saved again, but it can hardly be exonerated.

*

THE INNOCENCE AND UNWORLDLINESS OF the political boss, which are so conclusively displayed whenever he appears on a witness stand, have always made us wonder why the American people persist in believing that he is cynical and shrewd. Take the case of Mr. Flynn before the Senate committee. He didn't know that the paving blocks with which his courtyard was paved were city property, laid down with city labor, until he was told so by his law partner two months later; and then, according to his partner, Mr. Flynn was "astounded, surprised, distressed, angered; and swore considerably." He didn't know that the Mr. Flegenheimer he commissioned as a deputy was "Dutch" Schultz. Neither he nor any of his friends had anything to do with obtaining a federal job for Daniel Daly, foreman of the grand jury that found no indictment in the paving-block incident, though most of us have the delusion that political bosses interest themselves as a matter of course in such appointments, which are vulgarly known as patronage.

*

ROBERT MORAN, FORMER COMMISSIONER OF Public Works of the Bronx, rather smudged the alabaster cast when he said he had resigned his job because "politics in New York at the present time is not any place for a decent man," but his testimony in favor of Mr. Flynn contradicted this bitter and no doubt thoughtless remark. Mr. Moran denied that he was a political protegee of Mr. Flynn although he admitted that the future Minister to Australia (it seems to be in the bag) had recommended him for the Public Works job. It was Mr. Moran also who said that because of the war and the problems it created for him the small matter of paying the city employees for their work on Flynn's farm had "slipped his mind until he found out that Mr. Kern was investigating the situation." Having read the reports of the Senate hearings with care, we cannot but conclude that Mr. Flynn and all his cronies are selfless, high-minded, cultivated, idealistic gentlemen who are being persecuted; we reject the idea that their unanimous testimony has anything to do with that old adage about letting him who is without sin cast the first paving stone. But we are still opposed to having Mr. Flynn represent us in Australia. We don't see how our interests there can be adequately protected by a man who doesn't even know what's going on in his own back yard.

*

A PAY-AS-YOU-GO TAX PROGRAM SEEMS certain to be adopted by Congress within the next two or three months. At the moment, however, there is a wide difference of opinion as to the best means of putting the income tax on a current basis. Despite repeated refutation by competent authorities, the preposterous Ruml plan has been effectively sold to a not unwilling general public. The most recent Gallup poll, for example, shows that 90 per cent of those who have opinions on the matter favor it. This is not surprising in view of the attractiveness of being "forgiven" a year's taxation. But the plan has created more confusion in the field of tax policy than any other proposal in history. So many persons

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have got the idea that they will be excused from paying their 1942 taxes that the heads of the two Congressional tax committees have had to issue a stern warning that these taxes will be due as scheduled on March 15. It is doubtful whether even this warning has succeeded, however, in making the public fully conscious of the enormous taxes that will have to be paid in the coming year if inflation is to be headed off. For estimates indicate that an excess spending power of at least $50 billion has been created by the war, which will have to be eliminated by higher taxes and war-bond sales if present price levels are to be held. Even to approximate this absorption of spending power, the pay-as-you-go program will have to be imposed, as the Treasury has indicated, on top of the present tax program, thus doubling up, in part at least, 1943 collections.

*

ALL SORTS OF TAX PLANS ARE BEING OFFERED to sugarcoat the bitter realities of the 1943 tax prospects. It is alternately proposed that the Victory tax be repealed and that it be doubled. The Administration is said to have a plan for increasing the pay-roll tax under the Social Security Act to 10 per cent as an ingenious means of increasing the general tax revenue. And the annual drive for a sales tax has started—this time as a war measure. Representative Wesley E. Disney of Oklahoma, a member of the Ways and Means Committee who has long championed this obnoxious levy, has enthusiastically declared that "all roads lead to the sales tax." This year's drive is likely to prove especially serious because the sales tax, since it is paid in small driblets, fits in with Congress's desire to conceal the tax increases as much as possible. Yet it has never been so important to resist the organized pressure for the sales tax as it is in a year when food shortages and high prices threaten to depress living standards to unprecedented low levels. Moreover, the sales tax is peculiarly ill adapted for tapping the available sources of excess spending power. A graduated spending tax which allows an exemption for necessities and rises in proportion to the amount spent is far better suited to war-time requirements.

*

IN RECENT WEEKS THE VICE-PRESIDENT HAS been showing a new and most encouraging capacity to slug it out with his opponents within the Administration. His latest victory is an order taking from Jesse Jones those RFC subsidiaries which buy metals and other supplies abroad. Under an order issued by the President last April, the Board of Economic Warfare was given the power to issue directives to these subsidiaries. But Jones, who is tenacious and stubborn in holding on to power, has been able to delay the carrying out of these directives and thereby often to hamstring the BEW's activities. Mr. Wallace has ended the difficulty by an order taking over the personnel and virtually all the functions of these RFC agencies, leaving the RFC with little more than the disbursement of the actual funds to pay for BEW purchases. In the future the BEW will negotiate its own contracts, which means that Jesse Jones will be unable to interpose a veto over clauses designed to improve wages and working conditions in Latin America. It is unfortunate that in one sphere of activity, the purchase of rubber, Jeffers has taken power from the BEW and given it to the RFC's Rubber Reserve. Under the wide authority given Jeffers by the President, there isn't much Wallace can do about that.

*

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS APPEARS EAGER TO have the anti-trust suit filed against it by the Department of Justice tried anywhere but in the courts. It has already submitted its case to the newspapers, which have returned a vociferous verdict of "not guilty"—hardly a surprising result considering the relationship of the majority of them to the A. P. Now an attempt is being made to carry the matter to Congress through a threatened House investigation of the "circumstances preceding the filing" of the suit. This blatant effort to intimidate the Department of Justice is sponsored by Representative Shafer, who hails from Michigan but has long been dependent for political inspiration on the Chicago *Tribune*. We have heard much lately about executive invasions of the legislative branch, but in this instance, as in the case of Senator Wheeler's attack on the Department of Justice because of its sedition indictments, we are faced by legislative interference with the sworn duties of the executive. We hope that the department will resist these pressure tactics, but we are disturbed by Washington rumors of the early "promotion" of Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold and his replacement, as head of the anti-trust division, by someone more pliable. In the A. P. case there is, as Keith Hutchison will show in two articles beginning in the next issue of *The Nation*, strong prima facie evidence of monopoly, and no obstacle should be permitted to bar its submission to the courts.

*

WE THINK DONALD M. NELSON CORRECT and the Truman committee wrong in their controversy over production of farm machinery. The committee's interim report on farm machinery and equipment seems to us an easy acquiescence in a point of view favored both by the farm lobby and the big machinery manufacturers. The facilities of these manufacturers are ideally suited to the production of several important items of heavy armament. Nelson and the Office of Civilian Supply made a wise decision in ordering the concentration of the farm-machinery business in the hands of the smaller manufacturers, thus freeing the big ones for war work. The War Production Board also seems to have been justified in cutting production quotas for the farm-

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machinery industry. Though maximum farm output is important to the war effort, farmers entered this year with the greatest aggregate quantity of machinery in their history, much of it relatively new. The cut brings production only 25 per cent below the 1931-40 average; it has been compensated for by allowing production of repair parts at 67 per cent above the 1940 level. The cut will save 500,000 tons of steel, the labor of 100,000 men, and much valuable arms-producing facilities. After the boom in farm-equipment sales during the past two years the new quota should be ample. Judging from samplings made among farmers by the Office of Civilian Supply, it seems indeed to be greater than necessary.

*

NOT SO LONG AGO REPRESENTATIVE COX OF Georgia was lustily thumping a tub on the dangers of interfering with administrative agencies. He was one of those who joined in the unsuccessful fight to enact the Walter-Logan bill. Now hearings before the Federal Communications Commission are revealing that he was paid $2,500 by a radio station in Georgia some months after he helped it obtain a license from the commission. The hearings are not yet over and before they end should explain why the fee was paid the Congressman. It is a felony under Section 113 of the federal criminal code for a federal official, elected or appointed, to represent a client before a federal agency. The public policy behind this statute should be readily apparent to one who, like Representative Cox, has campaigned so vigorously for independent administrative agencies. The Congressman, with a striking sense of reciprocity, has countered the FCC's investigation of him by getting the House to make him chairman of a committee to investigate the FCC. Cox called the commission "the nastiest nest of rats to be found in the country," and his investigation should serve not only to distract attention from his own $2,500 fee but provide the opposition with the first of the inquiries to "smear the New Deal" which are planned for this session.

*

CHILE'S SEVERANCE OF RELATIONS WITH the Axis powers is no less welcome because the step was delayed so many months. The thirty-to-ten vote in the Senate approving the break shows that President Rios has overwhelming political support for his action. Because of this support, the breaking of relations has taken on a positive quality such as is usually found only in a declaration of war. In a statement announcing the action President Rios declared that Chile had an "essential interest in this fight" and added, "We are fighting so that all men and all nations may live in peace." A huge mass demonstration indorsing the move has been held in Santiago, with a vast majority of the political parties, labor organizations, and other groups participating. Japan also seems to have grasped the significance of the break, for the Japanese radio lost no time in threatening retaliation against Chile. Both President Castillo and Foreign Minister Guiñazu of Argentina have stated officially that Chile's action will in no way influence Argentina's decision to maintain relations with the Axis. As long as they hold office, this is no doubt true. But the enthusiasm with which Chile's decision was greeted in the Argentine press indicates that it will have a profound effect on Argentine internal politics.

*

SOME OLD CUSTOMS HAVE THEIR CHARM AS well as their uses, but they sometimes produce strange results. On January 21 the New York *Times* carried a five-column streamer running as follows: "Nazi Raid Kills 34 pupils." Reading the story one was brought up short at the foot of the column by another headline, to wit: "British Pay Honors to Dead Nazi Fliers." . . . Speaking of old customs, school ties are no longer to be made in England because of the shortage of dyes. We deeply regret their passing. What shall we substitute for that eloquent phrase "the old school tie," which has been sufficient in the past to indicate all the varicolored evils of toryism at home and abroad?

Design for Victory

A SPATE of obviously inspired stories from Washington and London has made it clear that major developments in United Nations strategy are in the making. In commenting on these reports *The Nation* is handicapped by the probability that an official announcement on recent conversations between the chief Allied powers will appear after this issue has gone to press, but before it goes on sale at the newsstands. Nevertheless, it is not necessary to have access to the agenda of the conferences now concluding to have a fairly good idea of what has been talked about.

It has long been clear to us that no over-all design for victory was going to be achieved by the separate concoction of plans by each of the Big Four powers—the United States, Britain, Russia, and China. In this global war actions taken in one theater necessarily react immediately on every other theater, and no amount of liaison machinery can make the fractional strategies of a number of autonomous authorities add up to complete coordination. In the past year Russia has plowed a lonely furrow, even though America and Britain have helped to power its tractor, while China has been dangerously isolated, physically and psychologically. In some spheres of action there has been close cooperation between the two Anglo-Saxon nations, but unified policies on such momentous questions as political warfare and the defeat of the submarine menace have not been achieved.

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All four of the great powers, however, are believed to have participated in the discussions which have been going on for the past two weeks, and if optimistic forecasts can be trusted, a global program for 1943 has been drawn up and a Supreme War Council charged with the task of carrying it into effect. This should mean that the man-power and supplies of the United Nations will henceforth be regarded as in a common pool and that the one central planning authority will decide how and where they can be used to the best advantage. Obviously this will be an extremely difficult assignment, particularly since Russia is not directly concerned with the war in the Pacific and China is not involved in the struggle in Europe. Yet all four powers are essentially at war with the same enemy, and as Alvarez del Vayo pointed out last week, if we proceed on the basis that this is a war against fascism in all its forms, the will to victory should be powerful enough to overcome inevitable national frictions.

Much as we sympathize with China's claims for greater support, we feel that the weight of Allied striking power must be employed in Europe this year. Hitler is groggy under recent blows. The Red Army has delivered a powerful left hook to his chin; the British capture of Tripoli and the Anglo-American concentration in French North Africa are the equivalent of a hard blow to the belly. But it would be fatal to let up now that he is staggering, for he will recuperate fast if allowed any time out. Rather, this is the moment for a knock-out punch to the solar plexus which can only be delivered by an invasion of the European fortress.

With such an opportunity it would be a fatal error to divert to the Orient the resources necessary to stage a major offensive there, and we feel certain no Allied conference could countenance such a proposal. On the other hand, some way has to be found of preventing the Japanese from consolidating their gains, and this means that we must maintain in the Far East a harassing defensive. The most economical way of achieving this end would be to increase the flow of supplies to China and so make possible the use of its abundant man-power.

Assuming then, as we must, that the major effort of the United Nations in 1943 will be in the West, what are the prerequisites of victory there? Recent anxious discussions of the submarine danger suggest one answer. In the field of production the United Nations now have a big edge on the Axis, and almost certainly we and the British have enough trained men to invade Europe. But the problem of keeping an invading army supplied remains a very tough one. Official silence toward the end of last year contributed to a popular belief that the submarine had been conquered. Now we are allowed to know that ship sinkings are keeping level with new construction, while the Germans are building new U-boats at about twice the rate that we are destroying them. How this very grave situation is to be remedied we do not know, but one essential step would seem to be complete coordination of Anglo-American anti-submarine forces. We hope, therefore, that the rumor that this will be effected under the command of Admiral Sir Percy Noble, now head of the British naval delegation in Washington, is well founded.

An equally important preliminary to an all-out offensive in Europe is a full understanding on political questions between this country, Britain, and Russia. If we are moving rapidly toward the liberation of the conquered peoples of Europe, we must have a sounder political strategy than that cooked up by the amateur Machiavellis of the State Department. A necessary first step is the clearing up of the mess they have created in North Africa, the stench of which is blowing far across the Mediterranean and poisoning our cause in distant lands. Political prognosticators suggest that the question of North Africa will be firmly handled in the forthcoming report of the Allied conversations and that an agreement between Generals de Gaulle and Giraud will follow. We hope this information proves correct, for the present scandal, topped off by the appointment of Peyrouton, is worth many divisions to the enemy.

How Large an Army?

SENATOR BANKHEAD'S proposal that we let our allies do the fighting while we concentrate on production is but one of many recent indications that the most fundamental of all man-power issues—that of establishing a balance between military and civilian requirements—is still unsettled. Although Secretary of War Stimson some weeks ago announced plans for increasing the number of men in the armed services to 9,700,000 by the end of 1943, this decision is being challenged both within the Administration and in Congress. The Senate Military Affairs Committee has started an inquiry into the wisdom of expanding the armed services to this extent, and Under Secretary Patterson has felt it necessary to defend that plan. The question is not, of course, whether we should allow our allies to do our fighting for us; we already have more than seven million men under arms. It is whether we should see to it that our allies, who are at present doing most of the fighting, are properly armed and fed, or divert needed supplies from the fighting front for equipping an additional three million men to fight sham battles in our Southern training camps.

It is becoming increasingly evident that the United States cannot hope to raise and equip an army of ten or eleven million men and at the same time serve as the "arsenal of democracy." There is unfortunately real substance in former President Hoover's warning that some-

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thing will have to be done to remedy the farm-labor shortage if we are to have sufficient food supplies for the exceptional demands of the war and post-war periods. While the man-power situation in industry is not yet as serious as in agriculture, both military and civilian production is being limited by lack of suitable labor. Donald Nelson admitted last week that there were many in the WPB who felt that we have gone too far in clamping down on civilian production.

So far our record in supplying our allies, with the notable exception of China, has been a reasonably good one. The announcement last week that we had shipped 2,600 planes, 3,200 tanks, and 81,000 trucks and jeeps to the Soviet Union in 1942 was a pleasant surprise. Unfortunately, however, there is growing pressure from army and navy authorities, as well as from Congress, for a reduction of lend-lease shipments in 1943 so that we may send more supplies to our own forces. In the case of foodstuffs—particularly dairy products and meat—there is grave danger that shipments may have to be cut down because of declining production here at home. Such a development, it need hardly be pointed out, would be a major disaster. The needs of our allies, of Russia and China in particular, are bound to become more acute with the passage of time. And as we pass to the offensive, the significance of supplies as a factor in speeding victory will certainly increase. Since much of what is needed can come only from the United States, we have a responsibility that we cannot safely dodge.

Some of the sentiment for keeping the size of our armed forces at a lower figure may, as Secretary Stimson charges, be isolationist in origin. There are still some persons against our participation in the war, and they would doubtless prefer to see the army kept small. But the essential arguments of those who urge a ten- or eleven-million-man army are just as clearly isolationist in character. Until recently the advocates of a large army argued that we must be prepared to carry on the war alone in the event that our allies collapse. Today, in view of Russia's amazing show of strength, one is likely to hear an even more sinister argument to the effect that a large army will be necessary to enforce America's will at the peace table. Those who believe in making United Nations cooperation as effective as possible during and after the war will not necessarily be on the side of a smaller and more manageable army. But they will ask that our allies be given a chance to share in the final decision on a matter of such great strategic importance. It is possible that there have been some consultations on the matter, but it is hard to believe that the Chinese, for example, would rather see equipment for three million additional men delivered to an American training camp than turned over to them for use in China. And we suspect that the Russians, the French, and the British feel much as the Chinese do.

The Next Step

WE WELCOME the appointment of Colonel Robert W. Johnson as chairman of the Smaller War Plants Corporation and look to him for the first vigorous attempt to bring smaller enterprises into the war program that has been made since Floyd Odlum resigned. Such action is essential if we are to produce the materials and fabricate the armaments required to meet 1943's production goals. Coloned Johnson, as the head of the famous firm of Johnson and Johnson, pharmaceutical manufacturers, has made a deserved reputation as an outstanding progressive business man. He was the President's first choice to head the Smaller War Plants Corporation but decided instead to go into army ordnance. The experience gained in the army procurement service should be of great help to him in obtaining the cooperation of the armed services in spreading work from the topheavy backlogs of big business to the idle facilities of small.

Colonel Johnson's predecessor, Lou E. Holland, of Kansas City, is a man who showed great organizing ability in his home town, where he formed one of the earliest small-business pools to handle war orders. But Holland seemed unable to get results in Washington in the face of WPB Chairman Donald M. Nelson's covert reluctance to do anything but make speeches on the plight of small business. Holland may serve a useful function as Johnson's assistant, and Johnson, as a big-business man himself, may be less easily overawed by the dollar-a-year crowd. Johnson's appointment seems to be the result of White House prodding and of the dissatisfaction expressed by the Senate Small Business Committee with the record so far made by the Smaller War Plants Corporation. The chairman of that committee, Senator Murray, was one of the first to applaud Johnson's appointment.

In our opinion, Colonel Johnson has a better chance of success than his predecessors. His prestige, his backing in Congress, and the growing awareness of the problem's importance in the War and Navy departments are all in his favor. But it is unlikely that he will be as successful as the needs of war production and the preservation of small enterprise require unless given actual power over procurement. Since Nelson is unwilling to exercise this power himself or to delegate it, and there is some doubt as to the powers originally conferred upon him by the President, it would seem best to give this to Colonel Johnson by statute. The procurement services of army and navy are too much dominated by conventional thinking and big-business men in uniform for us to rely on their voluntary cooperation. Colonel Johnson needs power to direct the placing of contracts if he is to be successful and if we are to meet this year's goals.

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Moral Issue for Mr. Hull

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, January 24

THOSE inspired stories you have been reading which blame General Eisenhower for the Peyrouton appointment just are not true. From all I know, on and off the record, General Eisenhower was distrustful of, if not opposed to, the proposal that Peyrouton be brought from Buenos Aires to be made Governor General of Algeria. In this connection it may be significant that the State Department has been attacking the General's brother, Milton Eisenhower, as a "trouble-making idealist." In the lexicon of our current diplomacy this means a man who dislikes duplicity, fascist stooges, and pint-sized Machiavellis. Eisenhower is second in command to Elmer Davis at the OWI, and it is no secret that the OWI is unhappy over the trend of events in North Africa. Davis admitted at a press conference last week that political prisoners, including men who helped our forces to land, were still held in concentration camps. The Nürnberg laws have not yet been repealed in North Africa. A liberating army that does not liberate is not the most inspiring subject for democratic propagandists.

The hope is that in the very near future the President will clarify the situation, for decisions of importance are in the making. Unfortunately, what needs clarification is not so much the situation as the State Department. Mr. Roosevelt's statement of November 17 on the Darlan deal was sufficiently clarifying, but little attention seems to have been paid to it by the men directing our foreign policy. Informed opinion here is agreed that Darlan was prepared to do almost anything we asked of him. Blame for the failure to free political prisoners and to repeal the Nürnberg laws must be assessed against the State Department.

There is very little evidence that it pressed for either action, although Mr. Roosevelt had asked for both clearly and publicly on November 17. The way in which the request was made involved the prestige of the President of the United States in the eyes of the world, and diplomats are supposed to understand the value of prestige—at least they are always talking about it. When I first inquired at the State Department about the failure to repeal the anti-Jewish laws in North Africa, I was told that ours was not an occupying army and could not give orders to the civil population; the relations between the United States and the authorities in North Africa were relations between friendly and allied powers. In that case, the President's request that political prisoners be freed and the Nürnberg laws be repealed would seem to be a matter to be taken up by our Minister, Robert D. Murphy, with the civil authorities in North Africa. How can the State Department operate on the theory that ours is not an occupying army and at the same time declare that the carrying out of the President's request is the responsibility of General Eisenhower and the War Department?

I suspect that men like Murphy, James Clement Dunn, Ray Atherton, and A. A. Berle have little interest in freeing those political prisoners. Berle as Assistant Secretary of State, Dunn as political adviser for Europe, and Atherton as acting chief of the European division were among the principal architects of our pro-Vichy policy. I know that these State Department officials are delaying, though they might hesitate openly to oppose, repeal of the Nürnberg laws. One of their arguments is that it might "offend the Arabs," a point on which Berle feels so deeply that he doubted the wisdom of appointing a Jew to the recent inter-departmental commission which went to North Africa. Someone has been confusing Islam with National Socialism.

More than two months have passed since the President asked that all laws in North Africa which had been inspired by Nazi ideology be repealed. The first State Department official to whom I spoke was Samuel Reber, assistant chief of the European division. He said the State Department was making a study of the question. Reber spoke vaguely of certain anti-Arab decrees and laws which should properly be repealed along with the anti-Jewish laws. This seemed sensible, until I checked it from French sources and found that the department's admittedly vague ("we're having it looked up in the library") ideas on French law gave an incorrect impression. Reber had mentioned the Lyautey decrees in Morocco as anti-Arab, but French sources insisted that instead of being anti-Arab, these decrees favored Islam by permitting Moroccans who so chose to live according to their own religious laws and customs rather than those of France. An Arab might have as many wives as the Koran allowed, though French law does not permit polygamy. Reber spoke vaguely of French Republican laws also involved in this question, but the only one a French lawyer could find was the Grennieux decree of the 1870's, which gave the Jews of France the right to be naturalized. When I reported back with these findings, an inquiry by the press office of the department brought a denial that the State Department was even studying

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the question. I was advised to inquire at the War Department.

Later, at a press conference, I asked Secretary Hull, "Is the State Department taking any steps to follow through on the President's request of last November 17 that all laws inspired by Nazi ideology in North Africa be repealed?" The answer was that he wished we could get our minds on the war for a few minutes out of each day. He went on to say more in the same vein, and he was quite angry, but he did not answer the question. What the Secretary said was nevertheless revealing. We have a department, the War Department, for military matters. The State Department is supposed to handle political matters. The Secretary's answer implies that these political questions have little bearing on the war. Yet it is on the political issues of human equality and freedom that the President and the American people are fighting this war, and it is on these issues that our government appeals to the masses of Europe and Asia. Mr. Hull is fond of dwelling on moral issues in his speeches but seems to resent it when he is asked to make his words good in the actual conduct of our foreign policy.

The final blow to State Department pretenses about North Africa is the news which leaked out here on the reasons why Under Secretary of Agriculture Paul H. Appleby resigned after three weeks as special assistant to Secretary Hull in charge of the Office of Foreign Territories. Appleby was asked by the President himself to take the post and was supposed to be in charge of all matters affecting occupied and conquered territory. He resigned when he discovered that behind his back Murphy, Dunn, Atherton, and Berle had arranged for Peyrouton's appointment as Governor General of Algeria. Appleby had reason to suspect that this was rushed through against the wishes of General Eisenhower, and he was angered when Secretary Hull dispatched a cable to Buenos Aires clearing Peyrouton's travel papers for North Africa less than forty-eight hours before a departmental meeting at which Appleby was prepared to present the full facts on Peyrouton's malodorous past.

Germany After Hitler

BY HIRAM MOTHERWELL

WHAT Germany will be like on armistice day is something for which our imagination has no precedent. This time will be radically different from last time. Germany on armistice day will be a social shambles comparable only to the anarchy of the Dark Ages. The German social structure of 1918 was devastated by fire. That of 1942, by the time total defeat comes, will have been blasted by dynamite, shattered not only by war but by Hitler's own hand.

THE GERMAN STRUCTURE OF NOVEMBER, 1918

The elements of German social stability which persisted throughout World War I, and emerged more or less intact when fighting ceased, were:

The Political Parties. These, though sometimes changing their labels, continued to represent substantially the interests they had promoted in 1914: the Nationalists—the Junker landowners and the aristocracy of the army; the Conservatives—the big industrialists and bankers; the Democratic "middle parties"—the shopkeepers, the professions, and much of the peasantry; the "Center"—that portion of the middle and working classes and peasantry organized, parallel with the Catholic trade unions, under the aegis of the Catholic church; the Social-Democratic Party—the majority of the wage workers and many of the lower middle class.

The Catholic Church. This, though not formally in politics, was a powerful force resisting radical change. The Evangelical churches exercised a comparable influence, though less directly.

The Army (in part). Although the army as a whole ceased to be an instrument of the state, certain portions of it, preserving Junker discipline and tradition, constituted themselves independent political weapons for conservatism, and were far more successful in preserving the old Germany than the fiasco of the Kapp *Putsch* would suggest.

Big Industry. This came through the war intact, despite heavy wear and tear on its working equipment. At first, after the armistice, it replaced the banks as the national repository of liquid capital and source of slush money for reactionary politics. It was the first element in the German economy to reconstitute itself completely.

The Municipalities. The German municipalities were largely non-political and admirably administered. They maintained their governmental machinery and traditions straight through war and revolution and inflation. The same is true in lesser degree of some of the German states.

The Press. The German press preserved its individuality and traditions through the war untouched, save for military censorship and spasmodic pressure by the government.

The Peasantry. This was less an active political force than a reservoir of conservative influence. It held on to its food, voted for the same old politicians, and supplied

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the rank and file of the monarchist regiments which periodically shot up the discontented cities.

The German Civil Service. This body of methodically trained, industrious, unimaginative, and incorruptible administrators remained the nervous system of the German state organization through thick and thin. To them orders were orders, whether emanating from S. M. (*Seine Majestät*) Wilhelm or from S. M. (Saddle-Maker) Ebert. Thus, though cabinets toppled and politicians followed one another as through a revolving door, the day-by-day business of government was carried on punctiliously, honestly, and—despite appalling disorder and starvation salaries—fairly efficiently.

THE INTANGIBLES

The chief intangible force that held revolutionary Germany in check after the 1918 armistice was hunger and the hope for speedy food. In Russia, the previous year, revolution meant to the masses "peace and bread"—the end of the war and "therefore" food. In Germany the war had already ended, and the masses rightly believed that further disorder would delay the restoration of normal food supplies.

A second intangible was the well-nigh universal belief—carefully nurtured by Allied propaganda—that since Kaiserism had made, and lost, the war, a democratic regime, presumably Kaiserism's opposite, would bring and preserve peace. The Fourteen Points were for a short time a powerful agent for the encouragement of a sincere attempt to achieve German democracy.

Another intangible was the reverence of the Germans for order and authority. When the superstructure of the social order was falling about their ears, and the invincible army itself was splitting and disintegrating, a red stamp on a piece of paper remained a command. To the Germans, if it is not in the official scheme of things it cannot happen. If the official weather report says "Fair," then the rain simply is not falling.

Parenthetically, the one intangible that most effectively wrecked the will to democracy and collaboration in post-war reconstruction was the exclusive-war-guilt clause of the Treaty of Versailles. Probably never in history have a few dozen mere words had so fateful an effect.

HITLER'S REVOLUTION THE REAL THING

Now compare the structural elements which survived World War I with those of which Hitler's Germany is made. While doing so, bear always in mind that there was no true revolution in Germany in 1918—only a change of regime. There *has* been a broad and deep revolution in Germany between 1933 and 1942.

All political parties except the Nazi have been suppressed and their underground remnants persecuted. All trade unions have been dissolved and supplanted by a state labor organization. Business and the professions have been purged and manacled, and authority within them has been largely transferred to Nazi hands. The churches have, so far as Hitler has been able to contrive it, been split and gagged. The ordinary police have become Nazi errand boys. Even much of the army has been effectively Nazified. The press has morally ceased to exist. Such grand old names as the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and the *Berliner Tageblatt,* though doubtless retaining their old typography and make-up, are only names, commanding not a scrap of credence or authority. Above all, the civil service has been completely demoralized and forced to do the infinity of little crooked jobs whereby the Nazis administer the daily life of the land. As a force for social cohesion it no longer exists.

But not only has the social structure of old Germany been physically shattered; it has been spiritually dissolved by the Nazi poison. The tradition of inflexible service to the state and to the laws has vanished. Even Hitler dared not at first nick the granite of the German judicial tradition. To the astonishment of the world, the Reichstag-fire trial was conducted with absolute fairness and faithfulness to legal procedure. Today Hitler can instruct his puppet judges to render justice not in accordance with the law but according to "instinct." Everyone must take Nazi orders, not only to pervert justice for Nazi politics, but to levy graft for Nazi pockets. Every business office, every government bureau, is bossed by a petty Nazi chief either in the swivel chair or in the near background.

It is this denial of the Prussian state tradition—austerely reverenced from the days of Frederick the Great down to 1933—that clinches the certainty of German moral fragmentation on armistice day. Even so recently as 1932 the judge who delivered an opinion based on anything but the law, the civil servant who accepted a bribe for winking at an infraction of *die Verordnungen,* would have been as unthinkable as a minister of the Gospel who introduced his mistress at a church sociable. Today not only the body but the soul of Prussian-German society is shot through with political disease.

To understand why this loss of faith in governmental incorruptibility is so devastating to Germany, you must bear in mind a basic peculiarity of the German character. That is its complete dependence on theoretical certainty as a prerequisite to action. The Germans' faith in government is rigid. For a century and a half they have believed that judges render judgment precisely according to the law, that state employees sign papers exactly according to the regulations. In this certainty they have been able to achieve miracles of organization. And for a century and a half their certainty was justified.

Then Hitler forced upon them a new certainty—that the Führer and his clique are always right. On armistice day they will see that this new certainty has brought them to disaster. Where shall they turn? What is there left for them to rely on? We can hardly imagine the spiritual panic of the average German on armistice day.

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With total defeat the official Nazis will be yanked out of government, national and local, out of the pseudo-trade-union structure, out of the banks and business houses, out of the professional associations and the press, and out of the churches. Leaving what? An emptiness, an absence of certainty and authority, of any pattern for living, of any ruling force that can treat for peace in the name of the nation. When on armistice day certainty vanishes, Germany will be one vast psychosis.

STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS IN TOMORROW'S GERMANY

The Army. It is impossible, of course, to foresee what shape the German army will be in when the smash-up comes. Since it will continue to be whipped on to the fight until the last moment, it will probably tend to break down in all parts at once, like the one-hoss shay, with general refusal of commands, mutinies, killing of officers, mass desertion. But parts of the army will certainly carry over some of the Nazi authority and will doubtless attempt to set up the first post-Nazi government.

The Catholic Church. This has persisted relatively unimpaired in strength, although its political and social expressions—the Center Party and its associated Catholic trade unions—have been thoroughly crushed. The church commands the religious faith of at least 20 per cent of the German people. Its influence would be a definite element of support for any social order of which it approved. The Evangelical churches, though speaking for a much larger proportion of the population, are less well organized to exert political influence.

The Communist Party. This is in all probability the only one of the pre-Hitler parties, in Germany as in the rest of Europe, which has managed to maintain an effective underground organization. By virtue of this fact, and of the prestige of what will be victorious Soviet Russia, it will exercise influence out of all proportion to its numbers. Paradoxically, it will probably present itself as the party, not of revolution, but of law and order—which, by comparison with the surrounding chaos, may well be true. It will be out in front in its ability to reorganize and discipline the industrial workers, a substantial part of the professional and lower middle classes, the peasants of the large-estate regions of the northeast, and an unpredictable proportion of the defeated army.

The Small Peasantry. This appears to have come relatively unscathed, as a class, through the Hitler revolution. However, it will represent only a passive force for stability rather than an active force for the reorganization of social life.

Big Industry. This has been bossed and kicked around by the Nazis to such an extent that it will emerge from the war spineless and unable to exert positive political influence until its equities and its markets have been clearly defined—by which time a lot of things will have happened. Its natural ally, finance, will be literally nonexistent.

Large Landowners. In default of an army and state machine to protect them, the large landowners will be a liability rather than an asset to conservatism, especially since they are largely situated in the northeast, closest to Soviet Russia, which supplies a historical example to peasants living on big estates.

Such are a few of the elements out of which a new Germany might be built after the collapse. They are not sufficient material on which to construct anything that could be recognized as the old German Reich. That is gone forever. For in between these scattered fragments of stability there will be one immense vacuum—the space left vacant by the old German state. That has already been destroyed by Hitler himself.

ALTERNATIVE TO CHAOS?

Before the final crack-up—before total German resistance faces total annihilation—the German Junker-led army will in all probability present itself to the world as the destined inheritor of the Prussian state. When defeat becomes certain, when the Nazi regime is clearly doomed, the army generals will say to the world—doubtless through puppet politicians—and say in all sincerity: "We are the only force left which can eliminate the Nazis and form a government to prevent collapse of the German state. We are the only great tradition which has held over from Frederick the Great, all through the Nazi hysteria. Make peace with us now, before we are completely disarmed, or expect all Europe to go down in ruins." The argument will carry weight with many loyal persons in the United Nations who honestly believe that military order in Central Europe is preferable to total disintegration.

But a peace with the German generals would be only a truce. War would break out again in time—have no doubt of that. And meanwhile Germany's victims throughout Europe would turn the continent into a hell. The United Nations would find themselves in a virtual alliance to protect Germany against the nations it has butchered. The deal cannot go through. The German army itself could not restore order in Central Europe. Hitler has destroyed too much of the old Germany to permit its ever again being pieced together. There is no alternative to the final destruction of the German power and the chaos which will follow.

That chaos, at the beginning, will be as complete as it will be inevitable. Just because the Germans are spiritually so dependent on authority they will be Europe's most furious anarchists when authority collapses. Besides the fragmentation of the German economic apparatus—and its bombed and worn-out factories, its shattered transportation system, its exhausted farming land, its valueless money—we must expect a bewildering fragmentation of its social and political loyalties. The German body politic will fall literally to pieces. Although the old states of the Reich will try to resume their local

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rule, they will not, in fact, be able to administer their own territories. Each city, in a mad scramble for available food and industrial materials, will become a law unto itself. Nor will the cities be able to maintain orderly government. They, too, will be riven with civil war and private murder as the people settle their scores with their Nazi oppressors. The units of local authority will more probably be such entities as church parishes, political party cells, hastily formed shop unions, district farmers' leagues, voluntary vigilante bands, improvised factional militias. And throughout the country will range wandering regiments of the former German army, which our forces will not yet have been able to disarm, looting and requisitioning, fighting one another in the name of some political gospel or slogan—the very substance of national anarchy.

THE FUTURE

The Wagnerian legend pictures Siegfried holding the broken pieces of his father's sword, facing the alternatives of patching it together or making a new weapon of it. He decides he must grind it to powder and from the steel-dust forge another and sturdier sword to protect him against the curse of the old gods.

When armistice day comes it will be too late to patch together the remnants of the Reich. Germany will have been shattered. But Germans, the fine steel-dust of Siegfried's sword, will remain. They, their proud municipalities, their stern religious loyalties, their ancient adherence to local tradition and state, will eventually be dependable elements for the making of the new federated Europe.

[What forms may evolve out of Germany's chaos will be the subject of articles to appear in forthcoming issues.]

Impasse in Puerto Rico

BY W. ADOLPHE ROBERTS

THE economic life of Puerto Rico is at a standstill, and starvation threatens a large part of the population. The situation has been brought to its present acute stage by the war, but its underlying causes must be sought in evil conditions that existed long prior to the war. The problem calls for realism, and for harmony among the various elements seeking a solution. Instead, we find confusion in Washington and political feuds dividing the island. The House Committee on Agriculture in the last Congress was actually persuaded by Bolívar Pagán, Puerto Rican Resident Commissioner, to tack on to a bill appropriating $15,000,000 to overcome the island's food shortage an amendment providing that none of the money could be used so long as Governor Tugwell remained in office. And last week the Senate Territories Committee approved a bill introduced by Senator Vandenberg to remove Tugwell from office. Before voting, the committee listened to a speech by Pagán in which Tugwell was accused of using the island as "a guinea pig for crazy experiments." But at least the fight has served to focus attention on the lamentable state of Puerto Rico.

Puerto Rico depends for income upon the exportation of sugar, its major crop, and of rum, tobacco, coffee, needlework, and fruits and vegetables. The United States takes 95 per cent of all exports, and in return the island imports from this country 40 per cent of its food, as well as almost everything else necessary to the life of its people. With the greater part of its arable land used for products for export, it cannot be self-sustaining. It long maintained a favorable, though diminishing, trade balance on paper, but that balance was always fictitious, for the lion's share of the profits from sugar and other industries went to capitalists in the United States.

Even before the war Puerto Ricans were desperately poor—the average income of a family was about $200 a year. The island is seriously overpopulated, and tens of thousands of adults of the present generation have never held a job or earned any money simply because the opportunities to do so were non-existent.

When the German submarine campaign got under way in the Atlantic and the Caribbean last winter, Puerto Rican commerce was paralyzed. Some of the larger boats carrying freight to and from the United States were taken over by the navy; others were sunk. Smaller, slower craft, usually without refrigeration, were substituted. The minimum shipping needed to serve the island was 56,512 tons a month, and the War Shipping Administration was promptly informed of this fact. But according to the recent report of the Chavez Senatorial committee, the administration "picked from the air the figure of 25,000 tons and set it as the minimum tonnage to be allocated to Puerto Rico." Even this was not maintained. In September, 1942, the tonnage which reached the island had dwindled to a little more than 3,000 tons. After that the situation improved slowly.

Today the warehouses are glutted with sugar which cannot be sent out of the country. It could be more safely stored if converted into syrup, but containers for this purpose are lacking. Nor are there bottles enough for the rum distilled. The needlework industry, which used to pay scandalously low wages and had been injured by

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the wage-and-hour law as well as by competition from China, is practically extinct. Coffee and tobacco, fruits and vegetables remain on the island for home consumption. But the supply of vegetables is so inadequate that the army has had to refrain from buying them in order to give civilians a chance.

Rice, the staple food of the masses, was almost all imported, and little has been received lately. The price has been fixed at eight cents a pound, an increase of two or three cents over normal prices. When a small quantity was put on the market, the supply was exhausted almost immediately in spite of rationing—usually two pounds to a person—by the storekeepers. The disappointed people rioted in several towns.

Potatoes have disappeared, except for a few very small tubers shipped in from Santo Domingo, which sell for twenty cents a pound. Macaroni and spaghetti are usually unobtainable. Meat is extremely scarce; the stockmen assert that they cannot afford to sell at the prices fixed by the government. Small quantities of beef, mutton, and pork from the Virgin Islands are bought by the rich at high prices. Lard has disappeared and vegetable substitutes are scarce. Olive oil sells at $4 to $5 a half-gallon. Small native eggs have found purchasers at $1.08 a dozen. In normal times very little milk is produced on the island. The demands of the armed forces have made inroads into the small supply, and a cattle disease has further diminished it. Stations for distributing evaporated milk to children under seven have been established, but the stocks are low.

So far, bread is plentiful, though the quality is poor. All flour is shipped in from the States, and preference appears to have been given this commodity. Butter, rarely obtainable, sells at a minimum fixed price of seventy-five cents a pound. String beans are sixteen cents, cabbage twenty-five and thirty, tomatoes twenty to thirty cents a pound, and lettuce twenty to twenty-five cents for a small head. Native standbys, such as plantains, yams, and *yautía,* which ought to be abundant in a tropical country, fail to meet Puerto Rico's needs, for land which should be in the hands of farmers has been swallowed up by the huge sugar estates. A plantain now brings a nickel in San Juan, a fantastic price according to old standards. It is difficult to imagine what the great mass of the population, always penniless and always undernourished, is eating today.

Because he foresaw these conditions, attempted to reform Puerto Rico's economy even before the outbreak of war, and is seeking a way to free the people permanently from want, Governor Tugwell has become the object of bitter attacks. His enemies in the United States call him a visionary with a lust for squandering the public funds. In Puerto Rico the case against him is much more concrete. Politicians are disturbed by the rise to power of the Popular Democratic Party which supports him, and the moneyed interests fear any prospect of economic changes; they are perfectly willing that the island should continue to produce mainly sugar while the immense majority of its inhabitants go hungry.

Shortly before we entered the war, a local program to stimulate subsistence farming was proposed. It was originally believed that the plan could be financed by the WPA, which still functions on a large scale in Puerto Rico, and this idea seems to have been encouraged by certain WPA officials. It turned out that regulations governing the relief agency made this impossible. After much valuable time had been lost in the attempt to obtain the help of the WPA, a bill appropriating money for the original purpose was introduced in Congress with the approval of Governor Tugwell. Defeated in one session, it was revived in 1942 only to be amended by Tugwell's enemies as described above.

In spite of some increased planting of crops under the guidance of the Insular Department of Agriculture, Puerto Rico's food problem, more than a year after we entered the war, is still unsolved. To extend the farming program, 18,000 tons of fertilizer are needed urgently, as well as a large quantity of seed. These would have to be imported from the States, and it is difficult to see how they can be brought in when every cubic foot of shipping space is needed for food.

The United States public may well ask how such an impasse could have developed and who is to blame for it. The situation is extremely complex. Rexford Guy Tugwell came to Puerto Rico under severe handicaps. His advocacy of the "five-hundred-acre law," which provides for the redistribution of land held by the sugar corporations, had made the wealthiest and most influential citizens his implacable enemies. The fact that he was named chancellor of the university as well as governor made a bad impression on other elements, an impression not wholly effaced by his early resignation of the chancellorship.

Tugwell assumed office just after the Popular Democratic Party, led by Luis Muñoz Marín, president of the Senate, had been victorious in the 1940 elections and was coming into full possession of the machinery of government. The Populares, as they are called, were in sympathy with his liberal ideas and with the New Deal. But they had drawn their strength from the masses, not from the educated white-collar class, and consequently provided Tugwell with little good material for public office. Moreover, they had won by a very narrow margin and were able to control the House only with the aid of the Unification Party, a collaboration which has often threatened to fail them. The election by island-wide vote of Bolívar Pagán as Resident Commissioner in Washington has enabled the Republican-Socialist coalition, Pagán's party, to claim that the Populares are not really a

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majority party and that Tugwell has no right to govern through them.

From the outset Tugwell has been ruthlessly criticized by the island's leading newspaper, *El Mundo,* nominally independent, and its English-language subsidiary, the *World Journal. El Mundo's* attacks have been echoed over the radio by important groups, including the Association of Farmers.

What have been the specific charges against the Governor? We may dismiss as sheer nonsense the statement that he caused a "wave of communistic terror," neither Communists nor terror being at all in evidence. The charge that he is the tool of Luis Muñoz Marín and the Populares scarcely deserves more attention. No American chief executive needs to be the tool of any Puerto Rican, and we may assume that Tugwell has allied himself with the Populares because he feels that they share his ideas regarding the future of the island and will help him to carry them out. To bear out the accusation that he is impractical and extravagant, much emphasis is placed on his previous record in public life. His opponents also argue that it is unwise to institute long-term experimental projects at this time, under the extremely difficult conditions caused by the war. A planning board set up by the legislature and approved by the Governor has been savagely attacked, especially for the appointments made to it —a young university professor as head at a salary of $8,000 and two other members at salaries of $6,000 each. This would seem to be one of the most valid criticisms of the Governor and the Populares, for although Puerto Rican economy has long needed planning and revision, an expensive project of this kind is hardly practical now. Moreover, the National Resources Planning Board has a regional office in Puerto Rico which costs the people nothing and appears to be doing a conscientious job.

Other grounds for the charge of extravagance are found in the acquisition by the insular government of several power companies and in the entire set-up of the so-called Water Resources Authority, a project dear to the Governor's heart. In this matter the Governor's critics are undoubtedly influenced by the antagonism to government ownership felt by all capitalists, enhanced by actual loss of profits. It should be pointed out that in the past utilities companies in Puerto Rico have charged high rates and given poor service. The Water Resources Authority has not been functioning long enough for one to know whether or not it has revolutionized things for the better. Cases brought against it by some of the power concerns are still being appealed.

The insular law taxing all incomes of $15.05 a week and up, just passed at a special legislative session, has been greeted with indignant protests. Since it is designed, however, to raise a fund for the relief of unemployment, it cannot be openly attacked by any political party. Certainly $15.05 is too little for any person with dependents to live on in Puerto Rico today. Yet had the tax been placed only on higher incomes, with the rate for those incomes necessarily greater, many persons now complaining would be still more outraged. Retroactive clauses in some tax bills passed by Popular Democratic votes and approved by the Governor have aroused resentment which it must be admitted is justified. The principle of retroactive taxation is a dangerous one at best. Property owners and business men in a country with a shattered economy cannot fail to be alarmed by it.

Rexford Guy Tugwell

Governor Tugwell is charged with trying to establish a socialistic government in Puerto Rico and with suppressing civil liberties. Neither accusation seems well substantiated. The unwise and cumbersome ruling that all news from heads of departments and official sources must pass through the office of the Coordinator of Information at the palace lent some color to the charge of tyranny, but the idea did not originate with Tugwell, and the regulation, fortunately, has been abolished. Nothing the Governor has sponsored can really be called socialistic except in the broadest sense of the word. Government ownership of utilities and water resources is a commonplace in the world today. The distribution of sugar lands among the peasantry parallels agrarian reforms carried out in typically capitalist countries years ago. For that matter, the law restricting sugar-plantation holdings to 500 acres has been on the books, unenforced, for decades. It was adopted by an early American administration which was not inspired by any political theory but saw clearly that Puerto Rico, with its abnormally rising population, could not afford to allow the sugar people indefinitely to crowd out the cultivators of food crops. Tugwell and Muñoz are using simple arithmetic when they revive this law and insist that the distribution of land cannot wait for the end of the war. In 1899 the island's population was 953,243; in 1940 it was 1,869,255, having very nearly doubled in forty-one years.

Muñoz stated the other day that every head of a rural family was entitled to a minimum of a quarter-acre of land. He added, "If we can acquire 180,000 acres we can abolish the last remnants of the feudal system in ten years." Governor Tugwell is in hearty agreement, and if that makes him a socialist he is doubtless willing to be called one.

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The Jews of Europe

III. ALTERNATIVES TO ZION

BY PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN

THE struggle to save the Jews must be waged on several fronts. First, Hitlerism must be destroyed. Not a Jew is safe as long as that philosophy rules anywhere in the world. It cannot be confined within any borders; its anarchistic nihilism drives it perpetually toward aggression. It must dominate the world or be destroyed; there are no other possibilities.

When the war has been won, Jewish rights and property should be restored in all countries where restitution is possible. For example, in France, Holland, Belgium, and Norway, where relatively small Jewish populations genuinely enjoyed equal rights, there should be insistence upon immediate restoration of those rights and of property seized by the Nazis from the Jews. These countries are on the whole orderly and law-abiding. Written records and a sense of justice still abide among their peoples. Such of their Jews as survive the holocaust may hope, however scarred, to regain their former status.

In Central and Eastern Europe, where most of the Jews have lived, it must be insisted that at least the principle of equality for the Jews be accepted. This war will have no moral meaning if at its end any people are denied the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness that others possess. The peace treaty should contain guaranties of human rights to Jews in all countries, and of minority rights in those East European countries where Jewish religion and culture can best be safeguarded by special provisions. There is no Jew, regardless of ideology, who will not work and fight for this principle. No good Christian, no genuine democrat can be content with less.

These rights, to have any meaning at all, must be protected by international police power. The unhappy experience of minorities from Versailles to Vichy demonstrates the emptiness of legal formulas without adequate machinery for enforcement and sanctions. The full safeguarding of minority rights is obviously bound up with the establishment of a superstate organization limiting the sovereignty of individual states. In the light of the recent intensification of nationalism in Russia, Great Britain, and the United States, the creation of a truly powerful league of nations may seem uncertain. But that minorities will be defenseless without it is very certain.

The principle of equal rights for all groups has been accepted by the various governments-in-exile. But what bearing does this really have on the Jewish problem in Central and Eastern Europe? Can the dignity and the security of Jews be defended by laws against anti-Semitism? Can police eradicate prejudice? Can international guaranties genuinely assure Jews of equality or contentment in countries where they are unwanted? How long would the United Nations be ready to provide soldiers to keep minorities where they are not welcome? Will not the historic question of the position of the Jew in Europe still confront us, regardless of the outcome of the war? And must we not measure our hopes and plans against the realities of Jewish life in Europe? Let us look closely at these realities.

We are compelled to note in the first place that Jews were guaranteed precisely similar rights by the Treaty of Versailles. In the Polish Minorities treaty of June 28, 1919, which served as the model for all others dealing with minorities, Poland undertook to grant "full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Poland without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race, or religion" (Article 2). But it was soon demonstrated that in the dislocated post-war economy this treaty could not protect Jews against the traditional anti-Semitism of the Polish masses streaming to the cities or against the resentment of the rising Polish bourgeoisie with whom the Jews were in competition. Every Polish government was compelled to make concessions to Jew-baiting. They did not formally repudiate their obligations; they simply evaded them. The law restricting the Jewish religious slaughtering of animals was a clear illustration. Under the guise of humanitarianism a decree was enacted which was designed to drive Jews from their important position in the meat trade. Until that time 30 per cent of the butchers of Poland were Jews. The motives of the anti-Semites were made perfectly plain when their spokesman, Dudzinski, said in the parliamentary debate, "We desire to plunge a knife into the vital nerve of Polish Jewry and to make their lives unbearable." No treaty could prevent Vice-President Miedzinski from publicly proposing in the Polish Sejm in 1937 that all but fifty thousand of Poland's three million Jews emigrate from the country.

There is one way by which laws protecting the rights of Jews might be enforced, as was indicated by Sir Archibald Sinclair, leader of the British Liberal Party, in his reply to a Jewish delegation: "When the war is over we shall see to it that equal rights are promised to you in every constitution in Europe. But there is only one way to guarantee that this promise is carried out—to station

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British troops in every country and to have them intervene wherever the promise to you is broken." It was obvious that Sir Archibald saw no possibility of such a course and was merely emphasizing the fact that paper promises are worthless if they run contrary to the wishes of the population.

With the steady deterioration of the Jewish position since Versailles clearly before us, we shall be not only naive but criminal to act on the assumption that another peace treaty, another blueprint for a new world order, will solve the Jewish problem in Europe. Such a treaty will help toward the solution only if it is supported by the will of the various peoples. Let us look at the prospects in countries with large Jewish populations, like Germany, Poland, Hungary, and Rumania.

In Germany who will supersede the Nazis? Will it be Otto Strasser, founder of the Free German movement and Hitler's Enemy No. 1? He insists in his recent book, "The Prussian Eagle over Germany," that in his new order the Jews may not acquire German citizenship, must be subject to alien legislation, and may not marry non-Jews. Will it be the Junkers? They are traditionally anti-Semitic out of snobbishness. Will it be the middle class? They fear the competition of Jews. Or will it be the youth of Germany, the most troublesome group confronting the Western world? How can the other nations live in peace with a generation utterly corrupted by Nazi unscrupulousness and ruthlessness?

Since September 1, 1939, the attitude of the Poles toward the Jews has somewhat improved. I have spoken to Polish leaders who expressed genuine gratitude for the loyalty and courage of the Jews in resisting the Nazi invasion. The Polish Premier Sikorski has promised the Jews equal rights. But after the war, as vast numbers of men again seek some foothold in a shaky economy, there will be a bitter struggle for survival. The Jews will find themselves as always in the most insecure interstices of the economic order. The Polish peasants have remained on their land; more than 80 per cent of the Jews have been dislodged from their homes. The Polish workers will be able to return to their factories, the lumbermen to their forests, the miners to their mines. But the Jews had been forced by history into the petty bourgeoisie. They have no roots in the soil of Poland, no abiding stake in its economy.

The Nazi conquerors have given more than 90 per cent of all convertible Jewish enterprises to Poles. In view of the deliberate squeezing of the Jews out of Poland's economy before the war, in view of the fierce competition for a livelihood which will follow the war, can we hope that these enterprises will be returned to Jews after the war, or that Jewish youth will be permitted to enter the professions on an equal basis? Moreover, signs of virulent anti-Semitism, now partially submerged in the universal misery, are not lacking. Polish anti-Semites, it is reported from London, have formed a bloc of three parties within the Polish National Council to oppose Premier Sikorski's liberal policies. This is an outward manifestation of the fact that the Jews will have to continue to live with their historical problem in Poland, that their status will be at best the subject of continued acrimonious debate.

The prospect in Hungary is hardly brighter. As if to warn Jews not to hope for any betterment in the post-war world, Prime Minister Nicholas von Kallay solemnly stated in the Hungarian Parliament, "Never again will the Jews of Hungary be able to own land."

In Rumania the situation is even worse than in Poland. The Poles at least see that the Jews stand at their side in resisting the Nazis. Rumania, however, has lined up with the Nazis, and Rumanian leaders know that the Jews wish and work for the downfall of their allies. If Jews who fought loyally for Germany were accused of the "stab in the back" after the last war, what will they be blamed for after this?

The whole tragedy of European Jewry was made clearer to me by one experience in Rumania than by all these larger political considerations. In the summer of 1930 I went with Eugene Kovacs, Bucharest correspondent of the New York *Times,* to Balaceano, a little village in the north where there had been a pogrom. We found a community of thirty-five Jewish families that had been left desolate by hate-maddened peasants. Most of the Jewish men had been beaten physically; limbs were broken, heads were split open. Their homes had been smashed, their shops looted, their synagogues desecrated. The primary cause of the pogrom was economic. Abundant crops throughout the world that summer had forced down the price of Rumanian wheat. The peasants could not pay the debts incurred during the winter to the Jewish merchants and bankers. Frustration produced fury—and a pogrom followed. Every important agency of Rumanian life encouraged, condoned, or participated in the attacks. The signal for the outbreak came from the belfry of the village church. The schoolmaster led the rioters. The police conveniently disappeared from the village. The government refused to send troops to keep order. The women and children joined the men in the rioting and looting. The next day I saw the aftermath of the pogrom and spoke with the victims. As long as I live nothing can convince me that Jews will ever be able to live a normal, self-respecting life in Balaceano. They were utterly resigned to the idea that as this had happened to them innumerable times before, it would be their fate also in the future.

The tragic conclusion forced on the realistic observer is that for most of the Jews of Europe the continent is a vast Balaceano. Unutterably miserable, clearly unwanted, rootless, hopeless, they are driven about like the last

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dying leaves before the chill winds of winter. There is nothing on the European horizon to which they may look with hope. The trend toward economic statism is against them. For whereas Jews might hope to survive in an economy of free competition, in Poland for example, their experience has taught them that state control is invariably employed in anti-Semitic countries as a device to eliminate the Jews. Nor have they heard adequate words of encouragement from the leaders of the governments-in-exile. Some governments have promised equal rights to Jews after the war, but there have been no specific promises on which to base the hope that the expelled Jews will be welcomed home again. I have yet to meet a single German Jewish émigré who wishes to return to Germany. One fine woman said to me, "Now that the Nazis have built a garage on the little Jewish cemetery where my parents were buried, I have nothing, not even their ashes, to return to."

The most saddening aspect of this situation is that it is not an aberration but the logical culmination of the whole history of the Jews in Europe. Of course the fanaticism of Hitler has given a special virulence to the current phase, but even he was the product, not the cause, of German anti-Semitism.

The Jewish problem in Europe, then, has existed so long, is so profound, so stubborn, that it must be accepted as it is. If the Jews had adopted Christianity, they would not have remained the one enduring dissenting, unpopular minority in Europe. But they remained Jews. If they had not been excluded by the church from normal economic pursuits, social activities, and civil rights they would not have developed those special characteristics which irritate some non-Jews. Perhaps if the nations had been richer in resources and less densely populated, and had developed policies making for peace and the free flow of commerce, the Jews might have been more secure. But Europe was poor, overcrowded, Balkanized, always ready to welcome war or persecution as a diversion from its unsolved problems, and the Jews were the handiest scapegoats.

A gifted people that is capable in freedom of being great and giving much is doomed in Europe to pogroms, degradation, fear, and the blocking of their creative energies. Their only hope lies in mass migration. But where shall they go? Let us examine briefly various possibilities for the mass resettlement of Jews.

Alaska. When the King-Havenner bill to open Alaska for refugee settlement was introduced in the United States Senate in 1940, it was so vehemently opposed by the Alaska delegate to Congress, Anthony Dimond, by Colonel John Thomas Taylor of the American Legion, and by Senators Reynolds, Bone, and others that it was allowed to die a quiet death. Many Jews also were opposed to it because it contained discriminatory clauses designed to prevent these refugees from entering the United States on the same basis as other inhabitants of Alaska.

Argentina. On October 12, 1942, a mob of 18,000 persons attended an anti-Semitic, anti-American mass-meeting in Buenos Aires and cheered wildly when General Molina attacked the Jews, the Communists, and the United States. Even if a considerable number of European Jews were admitted by Argentina, which is most improbable, they would obviously make a delicate situation worse and would soon find themselves in the same difficulties that had compelled them to flee Europe.

Australia. This is a vast, sparsely populated continent. But when it was suggested as a haven for Jews at the Evian Intergovernmental Refugee Conference, the Australian delegate replied, "Gentlemen, we in Australia have no racial problem, thank God, and we do not intend to have one started."

Biro-Bidjan. The role that Soviet Russia will play on the European continent after the war is at this moment unpredictable. It depends on how long the war lasts, on whether Russia will be exhausted by the prolonged struggle, on whether armies of Great Britain and the United States can successfully invade Germany, on which German groups, left, right, or center, emerge strong from the struggle, and on many other considerations. But there is little reason to hope that the national project at Biro-Bidjan which the Soviets established for the Jews will make a substantial contribution to the solution of the problem. After six years of energetic promotion by the government, only 19,635 Jews had settled in this Siberian outpost. Subsequently it was found that 11,450, or 58.4 per cent, had departed from the colony. In recent years more Jews have left Biro-Bidjan than have settled in it. Nevertheless, the Soviet government steadily refuses to admit non-Russian Jews to it, and no change in this policy can be expected.

Bolivia. On September 22, 1942, the Bolivian Chamber of Deputies approved a statute barring Jews specifically from immigration to their country. Although final disposition of this legislation is still unsettled, it leaves no doubt as to the attitude of the nation's leaders.

Dominican Republic. General Trujillo, President of the republic, announced in 1939 his willingness to permit 100,000 selected refugees to enter his country, and shortly thereafter a promising experiment was begun at Sosua. The Brookings Institution has recently issued a report which states that fewer than 500 persons have entered the colony and that it is already overcrowded. Investigation has revealed that the maximum number of refugees who could be absorbed in Santo Domingo is 5,000, not 100,000. Furthermore, the process of absorption in a country of this type must be slow and gradual, whereas the need at the war's end will be for the swift admittance of large numbers.

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Madagascar. It was reported that Hitler had selected Madagascar as a dumping place for Jews before he decided to liquidate them. That this island is highly unsuited to the mass settlement of Jews was made plain by its Governor General, Léon Cayla: "It would be difficult to settle European workers in Madagascar because the demands of the native workers are very modest and competition by the immigrants would be impossible. As to agricultural possibilities, the only suitable region with regard to climate where European families could be settled would be the upper plateau, but free land is no longer available there."

Mexico. Mass immigration from European countries is now barred by regulations issued on December 17, 1942. Jews were bitterly attacked by rightists in the debates in the Chamber of Deputies which preceded this action. One of the most influential men in Mexico, not an anti-Semite, recently told a friend of mine that no more Jews could be admitted, for any immigration would be exploited by the powerful anti-democratic, anti-Semitic forces to overthrow the government.

United States. Although no post-war policies regarding immigration have yet been announced, there are indications that any large-scale influx would be contrary to the wishes of the American people. Congress recently refused the President the war powers he requested for fear he would use them to admit a number of refugee technical advisers. The American Legion at its September, 1942, convention approved resolutions to bar all immigration after the war. Let the United States, it demanded, provide jobs for its own returning war veterans "before we start trying to solve the world's unemployment problems." Although this is neither good humanitarianism nor sound economics—recent immigrants have added to American wealth by contributing new skills and ideas to the nation's economy—it is shrewd politics. With millions of men returning to a shrinking economy after the war, there will be no disposition to welcome large-scale immigration from Europe. Even some Jews—not this writer—would oppose it for fear of arousing anti-Semitism.

These, then, are the realities. I do not suggest that they be accepted as final. Every effort should be made to effect a liberalization of immigration policies. An agreement among all Western nations, or among all the countries in this hemisphere, to accept a reasonable number of refugees of all faiths would impose no hardship on any one of them. The economic reeducation and redistribution of the surviving Jews might enable them to adjust themselves better to industry and agriculture either in Europe or their new homes. A generous, practical, far-reaching program for the economic reconstruction of Europe will certainly improve the lot of the Jews. Finally, every man of enlightenment, every agency of good-will must continue to act on the assumption that the minds of men can be educated, that their conduct can be improved, that this welter of blood and hate is not the ultimate fate of mankind. The Zionist solution, to which I shall devote my concluding article, should not, and in fact does not, exclude these other possibilities for ameliorating the condition of the Jews. It does bring to the solution of the Jewish problem in Europe a realism, a boldness of imagination, a constructive statesmanship which alone are equal to its magnitude and its persistence.

[*The concluding article of Dr. Bernstein's series will appear in our next issue.*]

In the Wind

IN THE LETTER COLUMNS of the Goshen, New York, *Democrat and Independent Republican,* a reader of that journal contributes his bit to war morale: "Because official Washington has become the antithesis of everything that is hateful in American government is no reason for the American people to give up the fight."

BY WAY OF THE MADRID RADIO comes word that a large party of German "ski-experts" has arrived in Spain to instruct the inhabitants of that sunny land in the technique of the Arctic sport.

A MUSICAL REVUE by members of the Louisville Central Labor Union is packing 'em in two nights a week at the recreation hall of Bowman Field, Kentucky, an army air training base. Previous entertainments had never drawn much of a crowd. The union troupe now has invitations from Fort Knox and U. S. O. centers in the Louisville area.

CHILE RECENTLY experienced a spy scare when a series of personal notices addressed to "Charlie" appeared in newspapers throughout the country. Investigation showed they were "teaser" ads for the movie "Charlie's Aunt."

THURMAN W. ARNOLD explained the government's side of the coming anti-trust suit against the Associated Press at a recent meeting of the International Executive Board of the American Newspaper Guild in New York. It was strictly off the record, but *Editor and Publisher* came out with an accurate summary a few days later.

THE MAGAZINE *Free World* is being microfilmed each month and sent to India by the OWI.

THE CATHOLIC LEGION OF DECENCY has made no statement as yet on the case of Donald Gordon, a versatile journalist who was recently discovered to be editor of both the *Catholic International,* a religious monthly, and *Top Kick,* a magazine of smutty cartoons for soldier consumption. Formerly an editor of two publications banned from the mails on grounds of obscenity, Gordon has made the *Catholic International* more brazenly anti-Semitic than *Social Justice* ever dared to be.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*]

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Fascism Without Mussolini

BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

IT WAS a great relief to learn that Elmer Davis, director of the Office of War Information, does not expect open revolt in Italy against the Nazi overlords. Any sensible person must realize that until the British and American armed forces smash the Nazi-Fascist military machine, a revolution cannot be anticipated in any of the Nazi-controlled countries. Unorganized and unarmed people cannot start revolutions against governments provided with machine-guns, artillery, airplanes, radio, telephones, and all the means of transportation. Nobody insists that the French, the Belgians, the Dutch, the Norwegians, or the Danes should revolt against their Nazi masters. Only the Italians are called upon to stage a revolution—as if they were better provided with the essential means of warfare than other countries. This doubtful privilege has been bestowed upon them solely because British and American armed forces may attempt a landing in Italy, and an Italian revolution at the right moment would be a godsend.

But in rejecting the prospect of an Italian revolution *before* a military breakdown occurs, Mr. Davis should not also discard the expectation of revolutionary upheaval *after* the Fascists' military power has begun to crumble.

In Italy today people can be divided roughly into three groups: (1) a small but organized and armed pro-Nazi minority, buttressed by Nazi troops and the Nazi Gestapo; (2) an anti-Fascist minority, larger than the first but unorganized and unarmed, ready to come forward at the first opportunity; and (3) the "masses," suffering from malnutrition, dejected, desperate, in a state described by John O. Crane in the New York *Times* as "political coma." Men and women who go to bed starving and wake up not knowing where to find food for their children do not start revolutions. Revolutions are not launched by masses anyway, but by aggressive minorities. The masses follow.

While there is no doubt that Italy swarms with underground revolutionary cells of every political color, nobody can guarantee that a revolution will really be attempted when the Fascist military structure collapses as a consequence of military defeat. Much that has happened in the world since June, 1940, could never have been predicted. Revolutions no less than battles often depend on fortuitous circumstances: news late in arriving; a man standing at a door, breaking in as the door happens to open; a corporal's toothache. If there had been a man like Lenin in Berlin at the time of the German collapse in November, 1918, or in Rome after Matteotti's murder in June, 1924, history would have taken a different turn, though nobody can say in what direction. However, one can still express wishes and hopes which are reasonable under existing conditions, and state what should be done to govern events as far as is humanly possible.

As reported by the New York press, Mr. Davis said: "There is no sign of an active group [in Italy] which could organize real resistance, and we are not encouraging it." He would have come closer to the facts had he stated that the State Department and the Office of War Information not only are giving no encouragement to any groups which might organize resistance, but are actually doing everything in their power to discourage such action. Since they cannot rely upon a revolution in Italy before British and American armed intervention has smashed the Fascist military machine, and since a later revolution would serve no military purpose, they are not interested in anti-Fascist revolution. Further, they do not intend to have any such nuisance. According to the American Plan for a Reorganized World described in the *American Mercury* for November, 1942, one of the American aims is to "prevent revolution from developing in the defeated countries." It appears that Article 3 of the Atlantic Charter, which pledged Britain and America to "respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live," is to be interpreted as meaning that they will be allowed to choose only forms of government like those of Franco in Spain or of Pétain in France, or such as "Otto of Austria" would set up somewhere in Central Europe.

As for Italy, the theory that "one man and one man alone" is responsible for the present war between Italy and the United Nations enables us to understand why the King of Italy, quintessence of "legitimacy," is consistently ignored in the short-wave broadcasts to Italy from America. "This government," Mr. Davis said, "is not broadcasting personal attacks upon King Victor Emmanuel." He might have added that anyone addressing the Italians on an American broadcasting station must pledge himself not to remind them that the King is as responsible as Mussolini for the tragedy of present-day Italy. And an army of newspapermen is instructed by the State Department to teach us, day in and day out, that if not the King then at least his son is to be re-

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garded as the "leader of the anti-Fascist groups"; or perhaps the Crown Prince's wife, or the King's cousin the Count of Turin—since unfortunately the Duke of Aosta is no longer alive—or Badoglio, or Grandi, or Mussolini's son-in-law, Ciano; even Caviglia and Orlando, eighty and eighty-two years old, respectively, are dragged out of the attic and dusted off for our delectation. Graziani, too, has been put back in circulation as a possible successor of Mussolini, the sadist Graziani who in Cyrenaica dropped native chieftains from airplanes to smash on the ground below.

It may be that the names of all these prospective opponents of Mussolini's are disclosed in order to sow mistrust and suspicion between them and Mussolini and thus make the situation in Italy more confused. If this is so, it indicates a failure to realize that any eventual advantage is outweighed by important disadvantages. For twenty years most of these possible "successors" have been indispensable accessories to Mussolini's crimes. If they ever thought of breaking away from Mussolini, they would be fools indeed to do so now. The fear of revolution which blinds the leaders of the "liberty-loving" peoples makes the lot of Fascists a comfortable one everywhere in the world.

Sir Gerald Campbell, special assistant to Viscount Halifax, has told us that "although Italy may wish to withdraw from the war, the country has no leader with whom the United Nations might negotiate," and he has expressed the hope that "such a leader will arise" (New York *Herald Tribune*, November 7, 1942). Sir Gerald well knows that while under a free constitution the opposition always has a leader, under a dictatorship any leader or possible leader would be dispatched to the next world as soon as he appeared. Matteotti experienced this fate. Summoning Italy to produce a leader now—because Sir Gerald needs one to negotiate with—is a joke, if he is to be sought among those who have fought fascism these twenty years while British Foreign Ministers were traveling to Rome to do business with Mussolini. Leaders to supplant Mussolini cannot appear before the breakdown of the Fascist regime; they will rise up then from among those who are on the spot. Actually, what Sir Gerald wishes is to negotiate with someone who was among Mussolini's henchmen during those happy years. Signor Grandi, who was so popular with the Cliveden set when he was Mussolini's ambassador to Great Britain, might do. But no revolution in Italy, for heaven's sake!

While serenades are being sung under the windows of every available pro-fascist "leader" in Italy, Assistant Secretary Berle, in his address of November 11, exhorts the Italians to "drive out the traitors and foreigners who have led Italy to the rim of destruction," and reminds them that "freedom is not a gift, it is an achievement; you have to attain it yourselves." At last someone has referred to "traitors" in the plural and not to "one man and one man alone," and has told the Italians that they have duties to perform for themselves rather than for Great Britain and the United States. If it is absurd to incite the Italians to revolt before America and Britain have shattered the Axis, it is good sense to tell them that they will deserve no consideration if they do not win their own liberty by revolting when the Fascist military might collapses. But how can the Italians reconcile Mr. Berle's exhortations to revolt with Sir Gerald Campbell's search for a "leader"?

To be sure, nobody in his senses should expect American and British armies of occupation to start or to support revolutionary movements in any of the defeated countries. Their task will be to demolish the Nazi and Fascist military machines. What will happen while this is going on nobody can tell. As far as Italy is concerned, if I were in the habit of breakfasting daily with Almighty God—a privilege enjoyed by Viscount Halifax alone—I should advise Him to leave Mussolini, the King, and their associates in their places until the moment they sign the armistice; at that point, while the British and Americans are engrossed in immediate military tasks, He should stir up the anti-Fascist underground groups to make short work of Mussolini, the King, the Crown Prince, Badoglio, Grandi, Ciano, and their like. Then Sir Gerald Campbell would find no "leaders" with whom to negotiate except those who had formed the Provisional Government of the Italian Democratic Republic. After that order should be restored; that is, the armies of occupation should prevent any irresponsible extremist clique from seizing power, and the people should be given time to organize themselves again into political parties, to discuss the issues before them, and finally to choose their own new government. This would be the right course; and the United States, in pursuing it, would not only remain loyal to its traditions but would gain the love and gratitude of all peoples.

Sikorski's Opposition

BY PETER DAVENPORT

THE recent visit of the Polish Prime Minister, General Wladislaw Sikorski, to the United States has brought into the open his differences with his rightist opposition. The main issue is Polish policy toward the Soviet Union. Seeking to establish a policy which would be in line with Allied political and military strategy, General Sikorski has signed an understanding with Stalin and initiated collaboration between the two Slavic nations. And with this new relationship established, the Polish government in London has organized a large army on Soviet soil and in the countries of the Middle East.

Sikorski's action aroused immediate and violent opposition among the old reactionaries of the "League of Colo-

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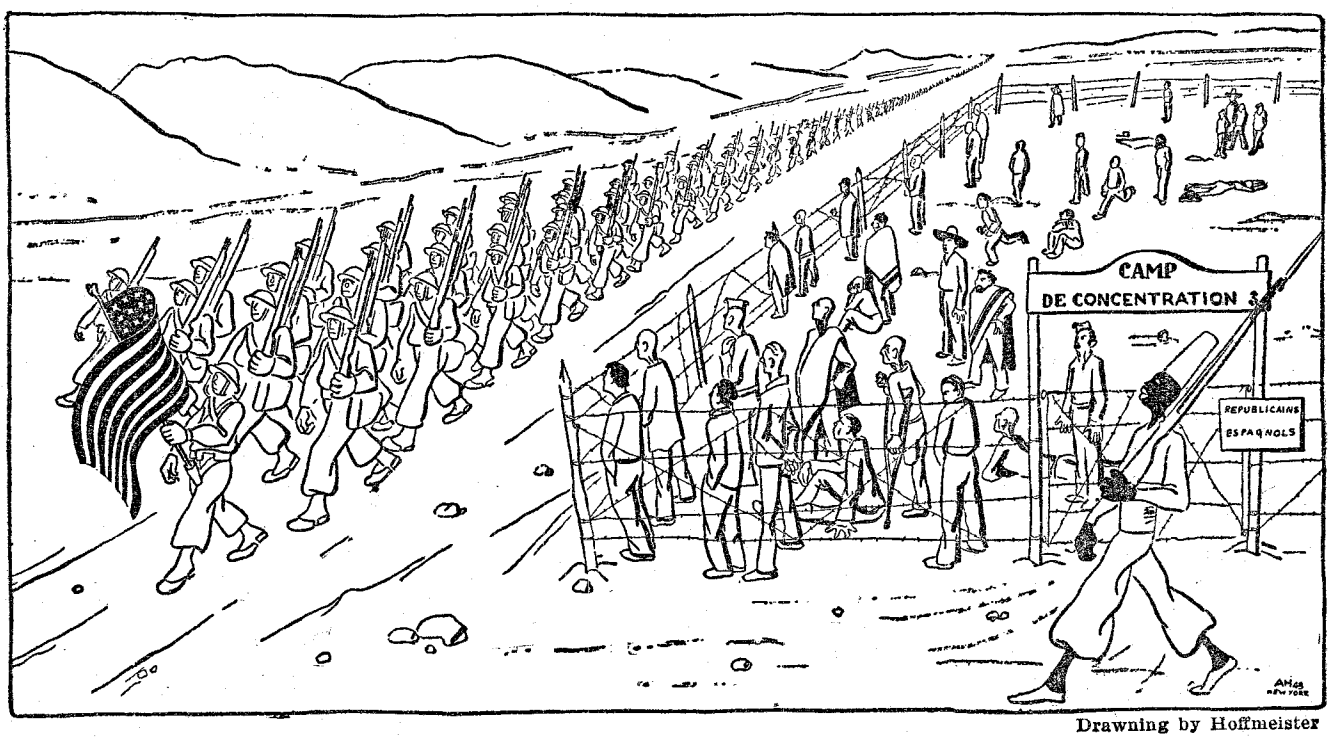
nels" that ruled Poland after the last war. Two adherents of the league withdrew from the Cabinet after the Sikorski-Stalin understanding. Soon an anti-Sikorski movement was organized in the United States under the leadership of Ignacy Matuszewski, former Polish Minister of Finance, aided by V. Jedrzejewicz, another reactionary. Although it has not succeeded in enlisting any considerable number of Polish Americans, the movement has been very aggressive and created serious disturbances among the immigrant population of large industial centers. M. F. Wegrzinek, a Polish American importer and publisher of the Polish-language daily, *Nowy Swiat,* of New York, has been won over, and Wegrzinek's paper now carries editorials directed against the Soviets, Sikorski, and Czecho-Slovakia. Direction of the movement has been placed in the hands of a National Committee of Americans of Polish Descent, under the presidency of Wegrzinek. The committee has an official organ, *Biuletyn Organizacyjny.*

The activities of the faction led by Matuszewski and Wegrzinek not only create confusion and antagonisms among the Poles in America but through the international alliances of the clique may actually work against the unity of the United Nations. The movement was at first closely connected with the so-called "Independent Hungary" movement of Tibor Eckhardt. Wegrzinek, publisher of the *Nowy Swiat,* was, and possibly still is, also the publisher of the Hungarian daily *Amerikai Magyar Nepszava,* the mouthpiece of Eckhardt's movement; both papers have the same mailing address. The *Nepszava* has followed a policy similar to that of the *Nowy Swiat* and published numerous attacks on Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania. For years an exponent of Horthy's regime and an ally of Nazi Germany, it opposes a democratic solution of the Central European problem. The collaboration between the Polish and Hungarian groups was very visible until the democratic Hungarian movement of Rustem Vambery fought Eckhardt to a standstill.

Worthy of mention also is the link that exists between Matuszewski and representatives of the "Greater Serbia" movement which for some time has been fomenting dissensions among Yugoslav Americans. This movement is outspokenly anti-Croat and anti-democratic and seeks to break up the unified Yugoslav state. It is formally organized in the Serbian National Defense, of Chicago, and its organ is the Pittsburgh *American Srbobran,* a Serbian-language paper written in the vein of the *Nepszava* and the *Nowy Swiat.*

Serving as a bridge between Matuszewski and the "Greater Serbia" group are some left-overs of Colonel Beck's diplomacy on one side and some Yugoslav diplomats on the other side. Active in this "exchange of thought" is one Edward Weinthal, now on the pay roll of the Yugoslav Ambassador, Constantin Fotich.

Of late Matuszewski has been going outside his own territory and taking a more than active "interest" in Yugoslav affairs. The *Nowy Swiat* recently printed an article of his in defense of General Draja Mihailovich. He partly repeated his arguments in a letter to the New York *Times,* which contained the following interesting passage: "The Polish, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, and Serbian laborers and farmers cannot view the Russian experiment with the complacency of a Mr. Lamont." For this Matuszewski was rewarded by the *Srbobran* in its issue of January 4. In a discussion of the independence of Albania, that paper cast doubt on the intentions of the Soviets and reopened the question of the Polish-Soviet frontier.



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Watch Spanish Morocco!

MY NAME does not matter. That is to say it would be of interest only to the leader of the Phalanx in my native village, and he might find in it a pretext to proceed against my more remote relatives who still live there. The nearer ones have already spent three years in prison. But what does matter, since I am going to speak about military things, is my profession. I am a lieutenant of Carabiñeros, formerly with the Spanish Loyalist army. After the end of the war, like other men who had not been conspicuous in parties or organizations, I could disappear in the great mass of former Loyalist fighters—but of course on the condition that I should not go back to my native village. In Spain, under Franco, the terror may be very great, but the disorganization is still greater. The police work well only when directed by the Gestapo. Left to themselves they act in most contradictory ways, and if it is true that one cannot allow oneself to express out loud one's opinion of the regime, it is no less true that occasionally one can move from one corner of Spain to the other carrying on intense anti-fascist activities.

I think I am one of the last Republicans to come from Spain to the United States. Anyhow, I am one of the few to have come from Spanish Morocco after the landing of the Americans in Africa. I left Ceuta November 21, 1942. The previous weeks I had been in Gijon, Bilbao, Motril, and Málaga. When I left Ceuta, five days had elapsed since the publication of the decree ordering the partial mobilization of the Spanish forces. During those five days people talked about nothing except the entrance of Spain into the war. Everybody talked about it—military and civilians. In the coffee-houses frequented by the officers; in the popular bars; in the lobbies of the movie houses; in the markets. Consternation was general among the civil population. Opposition to Spain's coming in on the side of the Axis was enormous. No date was named. Some officers said: "Around next March, when the American and British decide to open the second front. Then the counter-move will start here. Hitler will try to attack from Spanish Morocco. Then we'll find ourselves dragged in." In this sort of talk there was no joy, no enthusiasm; it was discussed as something fatal and unavoidable.

People felt the same in Ceuta as in Gijon or in Bilbao or in Málaga. Everywhere the people are against the Nazis. And maybe some of the officers are, too. Nevertheless, our American friends should not rely too much on this state of mind. If the army of Morocco receives the order to attack, it will attack. And the army of Morocco is no joke. I don't read English myself, but some Spanish friends in New York tell me that when the papers here speak of the Spanish army in Morocco, they put it at 150,000 or 200,000 men. Well, that may have been right some months ago. When I left Ceuta, the best-informed people spoke of half a million men. I have not counted them. But I saw with my own eyes the endless lines of *camiones* full of war material moving through the streets of Málaga, and all this was for Morocco.

Ceuta is very strongly fortified, and it is full of Germans. Not a single one of them in uniform, but it is only necessary to see them walk along the street or go into a cafe to recognize them. Probably many of them are not soldiers, but Gestapo men or agitators. I don't know who was the *tio alemán** who many years ago spoke of "the Spanish fly on the neck of France," but now one might speak of "the Spanish fly on the neck of the Americans." Those Germans in Ceuta, they have not crossed the Straits for nothing.

The signs of military action are not restricted to the south or to Spanish Morocco. At the same time they are fortifying the Atlantic coast [of Spain]. Probably, in case something goes wrong in Spanish Morocco, to prevent a British landing in the northwest. On November 2, also in 1942, I was sitting in a coffee-house on the Calle de Oria in Gijon when I saw passing by more than twenty *camiones* carrying artillery intended for the coastal fortifications. New airfields have lately been built. The most recent and most important one, at Aguiño de Ribeira, dominates the Galician coast at its vital points.

For all this work of fortification, and for the construction and repair of military roads, the *batallones disciplinarios* are used. It seems that in New York stories have been published about several amnesties during the past year. It is the truth. Many people have been released from the prisons—but only to be put into these disciplinary battalions. The Franco regime is convinced that it pays better to use the prisoners for building fortifications than to have them shot or keep them locked up.

They may hope also, in the same way, by sending several thousand peasants back to the land, to get a better harvest next summer. All the wheat brought from Argentina is not enough to reduce the famine. Prices soar to the clouds. One kilo of dried beans costs thirteen or fourteen pesetas, and wages have not gone up; the average daily wage is eight and one-half pesetas. Not to speak of the price of clothes and other needed things. For the shoes I'm wearing I paid 104 pesetas—and they are bad enough. For this suit, 750 pesetas. If everything is so fantastically expensive, it is also partly due to the black market. It is scandalous, the extent of the black market in Spain today, and the greatest robbers are the Phalanx "purifiers."

Three years after the war the fighting spirit of the people has not diminished. The *guerrilleros* have only been reduced in the proportion that they have been killed, and some others have even taken the places of the

* Literally "German uncle," or more freely, "big guy." He is referring, of course, to Bismarck.

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dead. While I was in Gijon, the bus from Gijon to Sama that carried the money to pay the workers in the mines was attacked by *guerrilleros* who took food and more than a million pesetas and killed four civil guards.

It is the discontent and opposition to the entrance of Spain into the war on the side of Hitler that makes the situation in Spain potentially so favorable for the Allies. If the Allies only use it! With 5,000 men I could take all of Galicia. To organize an army of 1,000,000 men in Spain to fight the Nazis would be the easiest thing in the world. But if the Americans go on putting their trust in Franco, they will have a rude awakening some day.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

ON JANUARY 14 Dr. Joseph Goebbels, after remaining on the defensive for some time, suddenly took the offensive. In the weekly article which he writes for his own paper—and which is reprinted throughout the country, read aloud from all radio stations, and referred to for days afterward—he launched one of the most furious attacks he has ever been known to make. The object of the attack was the enemy within.

Usually when Goebbels lets loose against enemies within, he does not define them very precisely. But this time he was fairly clear. "For the most part they call themselves conservatives," he said. And he quoted one of their characteristic remarks: "Pfui, how ordinary! The Nazis learned that from the Bolsheviks." It was plain that he was attacking the so-called "best people." He went on to picture their behavior as bordering closely on treason. "They couldn't go much farther if they were paid by the English."

What have these people done? Of what are they accused? Herr Goebbels brings a twofold charge against them: their mentality and their manner of living are both offensive. "They are completely unreliable. Continually looking for variety in their meals and amusements, they are just as changeable in their likes and dislikes, their ideas and opinions." "Their hearts and minds are absolutely empty. They are not worthy of living in these stirring times, for they are incapable of understanding them." "They are the ones who complain most bitterly about the war."

As for their manner of life, "They still stand aside from the problems and trials of the war." "Because honest, hard-working people give up their leaves, these idlers and parasites take longer vacations. They crowd the trains and lounge in winter resorts; they babble about the latest scandal, lament that dancing is not allowed, and eat up the peasants' butter and sausage." "They do nothing, are good for nothing." "They are plain lazy and unprincipled."

Such is the charge. What is the lesson? What message has Goebbels, the man of the people, for these persons "who call themselves conservatives"? About their mentality he seems to feel helpless. He contents himself with asserting that as a class they have no importance and the English can hope for little from them. "I know that the London propagandists will wind themselves around my utterance like ivy around the oak, but if London sees in this corrupt group an 'opposition to the war,' it does them too much honor." "They form only a small fraction of our people."

Their manner of life, however, must be changed. "Nobody has a right to withdraw from the war effort to further his private interests. In former times, perhaps, part of the people could wage war while the others looked on. Now such a division is intolerable; it angers the whole people. . . . All who wish some day to enjoy the fruits of victory must submit to the compulsions of the war. The leadership must mobilize all the nation's reserves. Anyone who refuses to do his share simply prolongs the war; if he does not cooperate willingly, he must be compelled to. We do not believe that any honest patriot will object to that. And so, let's go all-out." What, specifically, he meant by going all-out, Dr. Goebbels did not say.

What lay behind this outburst? Certainly it confirms the known fact that the "best people" in Germany are thoroughly sick of the war. But that alone would not have driven Goebbels to such violent recriminations. Normally it is not good propaganda to trumpet forth the fact that any kind of opposition to the war exists.

A cardinal Nazi principle was invoked here—one to which Goebbels gave classic form in his volume of memoirs. In 1932, he relates, the party found itself temporarily in a critical position. Goebbels thereupon said to Hitler, "We must get closer to the people. We must talk to them in their own plain speech." And he promptly started a turbulent campaign against the "barons," as the expression went at that time. Now a campaign has been started against the people "who call themselves conservatives." At critical moments Man-of-the-People Goebbels can always make good use of the class struggle.

In this instance he had an added motive in attacking a limited group. It appears from a talk given by General Dittmar several days earlier—other sources confirm this—that extreme measures have had to be taken on the civilian front: there have been new strict regulations and an excessive number of arrests. Goebbels, clearly, is trying to make these measures more palatable by conveying the impression that they are chiefly directed against "idlers and parasites" and those "who lounge in winter resorts." They are really all-out measures against everybody, but they will be less unpopular if they are presented as an all-out attack upon a small group.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

THE ANTROBUSES AND THE EARWICKERS

BY EDMUND WILSON

THE *Saturday Review of Literature* of December 19, 1942, published an article by Joseph Campbell and Henry Morton Robinson asserting that Thornton Wilder's play "The Skin of Our Teeth" derived from James Joyce's "Finnegans Wake." At the time this article appeared I had been concocting the following little parody, based on Book I, Chapter 6, of Joyce's book, which I was intending to send to Wilder. I did not send it because the *Saturday Review* article would have taken the edge off the joke; but since the assertions of Messrs. Campbell and Robinson have been rather widely questioned, I am producing it in corroboration:

"What pyorrheotechnical edent and end of the whirled in comet stirp (a) brings dionysaurus to Boredway yet manages to remain good bronx orpheus; (b) gave Jed harrors but made Mike meyerbold; (c) was voted a tallulahpalooza and triumpet allakazan by the waitups of the dramatrical dimout; (d) stamps them bump, backs them bim, oils them in the bowels and rowels them in the aisles, causes them to beep buckups and sends them hope sobhappy; (e) adds a dash of the commedia dead-hearty and a flicker of Fleerandello to the whoopfs of hellzapiaffin; sidesteps coprofoolya but seminates heimatophilia; (g!) translimitates polyglint prosematics into plain symbol words of one syrupull; (h - - - !!) disinflects Anna Livia and amenicanizes H. C. Earwicker?

"Answer: Skfinnegone Sleek."

The Messrs. Campbell and Robinson are, of course, quite right in their contention that Wilder has been influenced by Joyce. "The Skin of Our Teeth" is based on "Finnegans Wake"—as Mr. Carl Ballett, Jr., another writer in the *Saturday Review*, has pointed out—in very much the same sort of way that "The Woman of Andros" was based on Terence's "Andria." It would certainly have amused Joyce to know that a Broadway play inspired by "Finnegans Wake" had been praised by critics who were under the impression that his book was unintelligible gibberish. People like Mr. Wolcott Gibbs, who has ridiculed, in a skit in the *New Yorker*, the discoveries of the Campbell-Robinson article, make a very naive mistake when they assume that situations presented in the straight English of Thornton Wilder's play can have nothing to do with situations presented in the "kinks english" of sleep in which "Finnegans Wake" is written. It is precisely the same mistake that they would make if they insisted that "The Woman of Andros" could have nothing to do with Terence because Terence wrote in Latin. In Mr. Gibbs's case, it is clear that he has looked at the first page of "Finnegans Wake," one of the relatively few passages in the book which present a real appearance of opacity, and emitted a hoot of derision. That he has not explored Joyce for himself is proved by his invoking a passage which is not in "Finnegans Wake" at all but which was printed in an article by Robert McAlmon before Joyce had removed it from his manuscript.

Mr. Gibbs's readiness to scoff at the borrowings indicated by Campbell and Robinson is due to his not understanding the peculiar kind of close attention to phrases, words, and rhythms which the reader of "Finnegans Wake" must cultivate. Words and rhythms here have a different kind of value from their value in ordinary books: they do not merely describe, they *represent*, the characters and the elements of the plot; and any real addict of "Finnegans Wake" recognizes in Wilder's play—though these may sometimes have been brought over unconsciously—cadences and words to which Joyce has given a life of their own. The general indebtedness to Joyce in the conception and plan of the play is as plain as anything of the kind can be; and it must have been conscious on Wilder's part. He has written and lectured on "Finnegans Wake"; is one of the persons who has been most fascinated by it and who has most thoroughly studied its text.

This derivation would not necessarily affect one way or the other the merits of Wilder's play. Joyce is a great quarry, like Flaubert, out of which a variety of writers have been getting and will continue to get a variety of different things; and Wilder is a poet with a form and imagination of his own who may find his themes where he pleases without incurring the charge of imitation. I do not think that "The Skin of Our Teeth" is one of Wilder's very best things, but it is certainly an adroit and amusing play on a plane to which we have not been accustomed in the American theater lately, with some passages of Wilder's best. It deserves a good deal of the praise it has had and all of the success.

I do think, however—though what Wilder is trying to do is quite distinct from what Joyce is doing—that the state of saturation with Joyce in which the play was written has harmed it in certain ways: precisely in distracting Wilder from his own ideas and effects; and that it suffers, as a serious work, from the comparison suggested with Joyce.

In the first act you get, for example, the following line spoken by Sabina in her description of Mr. Antrobus: "Of course, every muscle goes tight every time he passes a policeman; but what I think is that there are certain charges that ought not to be made, and I think I may add, ought not to be allowed to be made; we're all human; who isn't?" This has obviously been caught over from the first book of "Finnegans Wake," in which Earwicker, in his fallen role of Lucifer-Napoleon-Finnegan-Humpty Dumpty-Adam, is arrested for obscure offenses. But this theme, which is wonderfully developed by Joyce at a length of several chapters, gets no

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further attention from Wilder. Antrobus in the second act becomes self-important and careless, falls for the hussy Sabina and is ready to divorce his wife; but we do not hear anything about him which makes us see why he should fear the police. The promising scene in the third act between Antrobus and Cain falls flat because the father is not really made to share the guilt of the son. Again, the letter which, in the second act, Mrs. Antrobus throws into the sea is Wilder's echo of the letter which plays such an important part in Joyce. But this scene is rather pointless in the play because it is simply something caught over and has no connection with anything else; and rather irritating to readers of Joyce because the letter is one of the main themes of "Finnegans Wake," in which it represents the mystery of life itself, whereas Wilder has merely exploited—and in a rather sentimental way—Mrs. Earwicker's version of it ("Finnegans Wake," pp. 623-624).

Again, the character of Sabina-Lilith seems conventional and even a little philistine in comparison with the corresponding characters both in "Finnegans Wake" and in Bernard Shaw's "Back to Methuselah," another work which "The Skin of Our Teeth" resembles without, I imagine, owing anything to it. The Lilith of Joyce is Lily Kinsella, who plays the remote and minor role of a woman who is odious to Mrs. Earwicker for having once had designs on Earwicker; but the conception of the Woman as Seductress is impossible to identify with any of the individual women of either the Earwicker family or the dream-myth. You cannot put your finger on her or isolate her because she may under appropriate circumstances be incorporated in any one of them: by the wife in her younger days, by the daughter in her adolescence, by the niece who is known as the "prankquean." She is something that any woman may be at some period or moment of her life. The Lilith of Shaw is the principle of change who always breaks up the pattern and leads to something different and higher. But the Lilith of Wilder is a hussy: parlor-maid, gold-digger, camp-follower—a familiar comic type perhaps a little too close to Mrs. Antrobus's disapproving notion of her.

Finally, I believe that Wilder has been somewhat embarrassed and impeded by the model of the Earwicker family. He has taken over the Earwicker daughter—in "The Skin of Our Teeth," Gladys—and done with her practically nothing; and he has tried to avoid taking over the twin Earwicker brothers, who give Joyce a Shaun as well as a Shem, an Abel as well as a Cain, and figure in their duality the conflict inside the personality of their father. Wilder has got rid of Abel by having him killed by Cain in the Ice Age phase of the Antrobuses before the play begins; and in the subsequent phases he does not show us or hardly shows us the people whom Cain attacks. Thus we never see Cain confronted, as Joyce's Shem always is, by his inevitable complementary opponent—with the result that there is no real dramatization of the "war in the members" in humanity. Even the scene between Cain and Antrobus, as I have said, fails to get this on the stage. The pages of "Finnegans Wake," with their words that take on malign meanings, produce a queer effect of uncertainty. The Antrobuses are a little too cozy, even when ruined by war.

Poetry of Latin America

AN ANTHOLOGY OF LATIN AMERICAN POETRY. Edited by Dudley Fitts. New Directions. $3.50.

THIS anthology has been in the making for at least a year and a half. The man-hours of labor that have gone into it, if laid end to end, would bridge the gap in the pan-American highway. The number of people who have tried to be helpful about it, if each bought a copy, should insure its financial success. It would be a pleasure to report that the finished product was worth the devoted effort that has been lavished on it.

But something went wrong. Perhaps there was a fundamental weakness in the concept of a single volume that would give us a complete picture of Latin American poetry. Perhaps Latin America is, as any number of people have said, a figment of the imagination created to satisfy the Yankee love for a simple tag; and if so, a collection of poetry made on that basis would also seem artificial and unsatisfactory. Perhaps poetry freezes when used in the service of propaganda. Perhaps too many cooks spoiled the mulligatawney. Or perhaps the fault lies with the editor.

At any rate, here in this fat volume are 226 poems from 95 poets in 21 countries. All poems are "modern," which is to say that, as the editor defines the term, they all date since the death of Rubén Darío in 1916. Each is printed in its original Spanish, Portuguese, or French, with an English translation on a facing page. All translations were made to order, as literal as possible, and the making took a corps of sixteen translators.

The first effect on the reader is of bewilderment. Ninety-five poets are too many to meet at once in any language, or in any four languages. Turn the pages and famous names flash by—Alfonso Reyes, César Vallejo who wrote those moving poems about the Spanish Civil War, the great Gabriela Mistral, Cicente Huidobro of Chile with some poems in French and some in Spanish, Jaime Torres Bodet of Mexico, Nicholas Guillén of Cuba with his pen dipped in acid, Alfonsina Storni of Argentina. But the best of them flash by too quickly and are buried under the weight of a host of lesser men. One understands that in a volume of this kind—with the Coordinator's Office behind the scenes—it is politically courteous to include a poet or two from each country. But surely it would have been better to have presented the best poet, or the two best poets, and to have presented them well, rather than to have thrown in so many and given so few a chance to be fully savored.

In certain instances good poets are presented not only too skimpily, but in such fashion as to give the reader a totally wrong impression of the character of their work. Otero Silva of Venezuela, for example, whose work is largely and bitterly political, is here presented as the author of a couple of mild love poems. Pablo Neruda, one of the most socially aware of modern poets, here contemplates himself, though he is also allowed one ambidextrous political blast in which he celebrates the defense of Madrid and the creation of the Soviet Union.

If it is difficult to find any understandable basis of choice of poets or poems—aside from the statement of the editor that he chose poems that would translate literally—it is

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equally hard to figure out why they are arranged, or unarranged, as they are. Presumably the editor had a scheme, but this is the wrong place for editorial subtlety. Whatever the chosen pattern of arrangement may be, it is too well hidden to help the reader. The 226 poems are flung at him in a single volley, and he must make his way among them as best he can.

His way is not helped by the quality of the translation. It was a Chinese scholar who was credited with that immortal rendering of a famous poem, "It says here about a bird," but Mr. Fitts has allowed his corps of translators to go only one grade above that, and he rewrote any attempts they made to go higher. Shunning any part in modern efforts to improve the quality of translation from Spanish and Portuguese, he has kept strictly to the classroom method—"to stay as close to the original as possible, line for line and sometimes word for word." "Our versions," he adds, and is thereby redundant, "are not poetry, except accidentally."

Why he, or anyone else, thought it a good idea to turn foreign poetry of great charm and diversity into English non-poems made out of blue denim is a puzzle. It can hardly please the poets, if they read English. And if they do not, there is the Spanish version of Mr. Fitts's preface to show them what his standard of translation is. He has a kind of unripe schoolmaster attitude toward the whole book, and it is possible that in making it he had the needs of his own prep-school students in mind. However, if this is the secret of much that is puzzling, it still does not explain why he has not grouped poems in some reasonable order as well as having them translated for an eighth-grade intelligence.

The word-by-word method and the admonishing forefinger are bearable in prose, though even there they seldom make for more than the first step in good translation. But in poetry they defeat their own purpose. For poetry is not primarily a statement of a fact.

And if you rob it of what Mr. Fitts seems to consider mere trappings—its word color, its rhythm, its play of allusion, its web of sound—you are likely to destroy not only its beautiful surface but also its sense. The words into which you try to put its meaning may all be in the dictionary, but the non-poem in English does not say what the poem in Spanish said. So the reader who must depend on translation, or he who tries to compare the English with the Spanish, the French, the Portuguese, is doubly misled.

For the average North American reader this volume is a kind of tourist's trip through Latin American poetry. In it he will find that south of the Rio Grande they write verses about love, and death, and children. About goat pens, and legs, and dawn, about mangoes and Indian girls in spring. Sometimes they are preoccupied with rain; sometimes they are drunk with bright color. They touch on the class struggle; they write movingly about the Spanish war. Having wrung the neck of the romanticist's "delusive swan," they still tend to linger over its decaying guts—or perhaps that, too, is the editorial touch. They write surrealist poems full of strained images, and wistful quatrains about street corners. They are sensitive to all the recent European models.

Perhaps this is all the average reader wants to know about Latin American poetry. If so, he will be content with this book. But the best poets in countries to the south merit a better introduction here. Their poetry is a living part of their life, and if this is the best attempt we can make at turning it into our tongue, we'd better learn to read it in its original Spanish, or Portuguese, or French and stop making anthologies that only distort one of Latin America's most cherished art forms.

MILDRED ADAMS

Pan-Europe, Old Style

VICTORY IS NOT ENOUGH. By Egon Ranshofen-Wertheimer. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.

IN THE thick jungles of the literature of post-war reconstruction Egon Ranshofen-Wertheimer's "Victory Is Not Enough" constitutes a bright spot. This outstanding book, however, deserves both praise and serious scolding. The analysis of the situation and of the mistakes of the period after the First World War is probably the best among the many of its kind, even better than that of Professor E. H. Carr in "Conditions of Peace." The trouble with most books on reconstruction is that they are written either by people who know only the European mentality or by those who know only that of the Anglo-Saxons. Ranshofen-Wertheimer has the advantage of being well acquainted with both Anglo-Saxon mentality and the mind of Europe. He was born and educated in Austria, the most important melting-pot of Europe, and became correspondent of a Vienna liberal newspaper in London. Later he came to this country.

The knowledge of the two mentalities almost predestines Ranshofen-Wertheimer to acquaint us with the problems of peace. While even his analysis shows important flaws, he approaches the period 1919-39 from a very sane angle. He gives a good analysis of the German mind. All those who advocate German national unity after this war should read Wertheimer's arguments carefully. He rightly proposes, like Professor Carr, a cooling-off period before peace is concluded. He praises Metternich for letting the Congress "dance" for the whole year of 1814. "If only the Conference of Paris in 1919 had danced—danced through the winter and the spring of 1919-20—the world might be happier today." His analysis of the failure of political socialism in Europe is also lucid and convincing.

The trouble starts when Ranshofen-Wertheimer comes to consider a solution for war-torn Europe. Many details of his propositions are interesting, but the general scheme is in part old and in part extremely reactionary. In his analysis Ranshofen-Wertheimer appears in the guise of a progressive liberal. But when he tries to deduce the lessons of the failure of peace after the last war and attempts integration, he cannot disentangle himself from his early Austrian past. This Austrian heritage made Ranshofen-Wertheimer, just as it made another Austrian, Adolf Hitler, extremely suspicious of Soviet Russia. And thus, after 250 pages of brilliant analysis, he falls back on the scheme of another Austrian, the Pan-Europe of Count Richard N. Coudenhove-Kalergi. Count Coudenhove-Kalergi was a typical Austrian. His father's family through the Coudenhoves was Flemish, through the Kalergis Greek; he had French and other European blood in his veins, and his mother was a Japanese. This mixture made the noble count a "typical" Austrian.

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In the late twenties Count Coudenhove-Kalergi developed a scheme to save Europe, bleeding from the wounds of the last war, and proposed a synthesis of the nations into a huge European federation. At that time France was the military master of Europe, and Count Coudenhove-Kalergi, who was much under the influence of French culture as were most of the higher classes in Austria, tacitly visualized this future Pan-Europe under French leadership. Britain was no longer interested in European affairs, and Soviet Russia was still treated as an outcast from the society of "decent" nations. In 1930 Aristide Briand, the great French Premier, "borrowed" Coudenhove's Pan-Europe plan, which thus received official notice. To make the bait of European unity sweeter to certain countries, Coudenhove counted on the anti-Soviet feelings of most of the conservative governments in Europe and started a very strong anti-Soviet and anti-Stalin propaganda, excluding Russia from the European unity. To please France, he also excluded Britain.

Ranshofen-Wertheimer steps into the heritage of Coudenhove's Pan-Europe and serves it up to us in almost the old form. He has forgotten even to invent a new sauce for it. The world, however, has changed since Coudenhove. France will never become the dominating European power. The fate of Britain and Russia is definitely tied up with Europe, and no European unity can be imagined without them. Wertheimer's Pan-Europe would play the continent into German hands. Herr Wertheimer went to sleep in 1930 apparently. Otherwise he could not propose that the new European federation should exclude Russia.

Liberals will rightly be impatient with this book, yet I must say that everyone who wants to understand the problems of European peace should read the first 250 pages.

M. W. FODOR

Fiction in Review

WE HAVE a tendency to forget, nowadays, that in the long run what really counts about a novel is the story it tells. "To create a world" is not only to evoke the emotion or atmosphere that surrounds situation, but to create situation itself, in some of the dramatic suspense of actual life; and observation, sensibility, documentation, however fruitful they may be as adjuncts to a story, are no substitute for action or plot. But the sin of telling us everything except what happens is certainly never the sin of our best serious writers, only of our next-best serious writers; and it is never the sin of frankly commercial writers. The addiction of even the educated public to detective stories can be explained quite simply by the fact that thrillers are our most readable books; naturally they will be the most read.

For instance, of four recently published novels, one, "The Gaunt Woman" by Edmund Gilligan (Scribner's, $2.50), is a spy story; another, "Tropic Moon" by Simenon (Harcourt, Brace, $2), is a psychological novel by the well-known French writer of detective stories; a third, "Circle in the Water" by Helen Hull (Coward-McCann, $2.50), is a problem novel conceived on a one-cut-above-commercialism level of earnestness and literacy; and the last, "The Looking Glass" by William March (Little, Brown, $2.50), is elabo-

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rately artful. In the same descending order, from spy story to literariness, they hold your attention. "The Gaunt Woman" is a Literary Guild selection and will go out to thousands; if they are troubled about their literary taste because they honestly prefer Mr. Gilligan's exciting war yarn to Mr. March's circumambulatory investigation of small-town life, they should remember that even good novels are novels you can't put down.

Not to suggest, then, that "The Gaunt Woman" is really a good novel, it is still good entertainment and should give you pleasure. Mr. Gilligan tells the story of a fishing schooner out of Gloucester which runs full sail into a mother ship for German submarines; halibut fishing gives place to spy chasing, with its full quota of sentimental hokum, piousness, and not quite credible heroics. But what is unusual about "The Gaunt Woman" is that it also has the lash of the sea and a lot of tacking and rigging which this reviewer enjoyed enormously, without pretending to judge its authenticity. By successfully combining a sea story and a spy story, in other words, Mr. Gilligan has rung an exciting change on the usual war thriller.

Although "Tropic Moon," Simenon's novel of French Equatorial Africa, includes a murder, the author of the Maigret stories is here concerned not with tracking down the culprit—we know who did it from the start—but with the effect upon a young Frenchman, new to the tropics, of discovering that his mistress is a murderess. The heat and fever, the confusion of a young man's relation to a woman who has given herself not only to him but to every white man in the settlement, the new moral standards the hero is up against in the governing class—all this is material, certainly, for a better novel than Simenon has written, but what he has written is swift and clever, rather more complex, psychologically, than Somerset Maugham's colonial stories yet in much the same manner. The main fault of "Tropic Moon" seems to be an excess of the virtue of objectivity; by keeping himself too much out of his novel, the author leaves the picture a little bare. At the end of the story, for instance, the exposition is so sparse that we are left with some of the hero's own confusion.

And then, far less interesting than either Mr. Gilligan's book or Simenon's, there is Miss Hull's novel about a writer who hasn't the stamina to retain his integrity. His first opus, a realistic slice of his early life in Maine, loses Miss Hull's novelist his college post; so he comes to New York, where the struggle to retain his vision is even harder, despite the devotion of the most devoted wife in current fiction. Eventually he gives up the battle, sells his soul to Hollywood, leaves his wife for a divorcée, and hires a ghost—all of which, if you are acquainted with the creative processes in second-rate stories, could have been predicted from the beginning. And yet Miss Hull's novel, like Rachel Field's "And Now Tomorrow," is a notable example of the special kind of talent it takes to create a fictitious reality—although her portrait of the artist as a human being is only less embarrassing, in the way in which artists in the movies are embarrassing, than her companion portrait of the artist's wife.

Finally, scarcely interesting at all, there is "The Looking Glass" of William March. With the "Spoon River Anthology" in one hand and Krafft-Ebing in the other, Mr. March draws a composite picture of life in a small Alabama town in the early years of the century; in his Reedyville, not a family but has its lunatic or other horror, and although this may be accurate reporting—after all, *all* Southern novelists can't be themselves crazy, much as a reader unacquainted with their territory may sometimes like to think they are—Mr. March is rather too coy with his psychopathology to hold even our morbid interest. One's chief response to "The Looking Glass" is irritation with its author; Mr. March's novel fails to support the consideration his short stories seem to have earned for him. DIANA TRILLING

The Beveridge Plan

SOCIAL INSURANCE AND ALLIED SERVICES. Report by Sir William Beveridge. American Edition Reproduced Photographically from the English Edition. The Macmillan Company. $1.

READERS who approach Sir William Beveridge's celebrated report with the expectation of finding a convenient blueprint of the post-war world are doomed to disappointment. Contrary to a rather widespread impression, the report is confined solely to the problem of social insurance; it does not stray into the larger aspects of post-war planning. Furthermore, it is quite apparent that Sir William was interested primarily in the mechanics of unifying and strengthening Britain's social-insurance system and little concerned with elucidating his plan for an American audience. Americans who are not familiar with the existing social-insurance arrangements in Great Britain, and the background of these arrangements, will find it extremely difficult to understand and evaluate the specific recommendations of the report and will be somewhat mystified regarding the applicability of its principles to our own social-security legislation. For this reason it is particularly important to understand just what it is that is proposed.

Many of the features of the Beveridge plan merely represent an extension of the traditional British approach to social security. The program is based, for example, on the established British principle that social insurance should be paid for jointly by the employer, the employee, and the state. In contrast with American practice, it also rests on the principle of equal contribution and equal benefits regardless of income. Moreover, in considering the audacious scope of the program, it must be remembered that the British social-insurance system has always provided much broader protection than is afforded by our Social Security Act.

Ignoring changes in detail and the manner in which the conclusions are arrived at, Sir William makes eight significant recommendations. These are: (1) the integration of Britain's social insurance system to cover all normal risks: (2) the extension of protection under that system to all Britishers regardless of age, occupation, or income; (3) a general increase in benefits so as to provide the essentials of life as set forth by competent social surveys; (4) creation of special protection for the special risks of married women; (5) creation of a system of children's allowances so that all children may have their minimum needs cared for; (6) abolition of Britain's historical cumbersome system of workmen's

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compensation in favor of a simple plan for disability benefits; (7) provision of funeral benefits in place of the shocking waste of private industrial insurance; (8) elimination of the distinction between unemployment insurance and unemployment assistance, and the payment of the unemployment benefit indefinitely, without means test, as a right.

Each of these recommendations involves a minor revolution in Anglo-Saxon thinking regarding social security. As Sir William declares in the foreword, "a revolutionary moment in the world's history is a time for revolutions, not for patching." Taken as a whole, the program is so complete and so carefully planned that it is scarcely open to criticism. From an American standpoint the benefits are low; but the protection offered is so much more adequate than is now commonly given, either in this country or Britain, that no one will quarrel seriously with the report on that basis. Politically, too, the recommendations are extraordinarily astute. Full consideration is given to all legitimate questions and doubts, and the whole program is so neatly integrated that it can hardly be subject to piecemeal attack. Although the organization and vocabulary of the report are highly technical, it is so permeated with a spirit of practical idealism that no one can read it without an enhanced respect for the value and dignity of the common man.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

Nothing Too Much

THE GREAT AGE OF GREEK LITERATURE. By Edith Hamilton. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.50.

THE first sentence of Miss Hamilton's preface reads as follows: "My former book, 'The Greek Way,' which is included in this volume, was an incomplete work." To that volume, published in 1930, Miss Hamilton has now given a new preface and added five new chapters—on Pindar, on the three historians Thucydides, Herodotus, and Xenophon, and on the religion of the Greeks. That this material is interesting in itself, and does round out the former volume, there can be no doubt; but there is in some of it, particularly that which describes the historians, an ever so slight, and ever so slightly disturbing, difference of tone, a suspicion that the book has been not merely completed but brought up to date; as if modern events had impinged a little too much on the author's consciousness, and we were being prompted, in our study of the wars between the Greeks and the Persians, the Athenians and the Spartans, to consider Persians and Spartans not strictly as such but as prototypes of our enemies; and tempted into a too facile identification of ourselves with Greeks, in the one case, and Athenians in the other. I do not think Miss Hamilton consciously means to do this, or wants us to do it: elsewhere she is quite severe about such excessive, sentimental, un-Greek attitudes: "We . . . make a refuge from a world that is too hard for us to face by sentimentalizing it. The Greeks looked straight at it. They were completely unsentimental. It was a Roman who said it was sweet to die for one's country. The Greeks never said it was sweet to die for anything. They had no vital lies."

Miss Hamilton writes with ardor, clarity, and high spirit; at the same time she has constantly in mind the Greek prin-

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ciple of "Nothing too much." A good thing, too; for just a little more, and she would seem to be gushing, and adoring "her" dear Greeks. She does not trim, or hedge. This forthright habit leads her, at times, into inconsistencies, or statements that sound pat, or sweeping. The reader will find many questions raised, and not all answered; he is not relieved of the responsibility of doing some thinking for himself. Nothing too much. Or, as an American character puts it in "Ruggles of Red Gap," "I can be pushed just so far." Does not this apply also to accepting ideas that are sane, orderly, and wholesome? Take Socrates, for instance. Are we being merely morbid and modern if we find him not entirely a fount of wisdom but also a bit of a bore, with a fair-sized streak of Polonius in his make-up? Or is Socrates himself maybe a little perverse? "How I wish" (he said) "that wisdom could be infused by touch. If that were so, how greatly should I value the privilege of reclining at your side, for you would fill me with a stream of wisdom plenteous and fair, whereas my own is of a very questionable sort."

It may be that in confining herself to a great age Miss Hamilton is bound to oversimplify, to generalize too much, to underemphasize the wild and Gothic side of Greek genius, and if their whole literary history from Homer to the Alexandrians were covered, a juster portrait would emerge. Freud once, on an official occasion when he was being acclaimed as the discoverer of the unconscious, disavowed the praise; he said that long before his time the unconscious had been discovered by the artists of the human race. To the understanding on which he based a therapy the Greeks contributed, certainly, more than their share; and it is perhaps unjust to them to leave out the Gorgons, Harpies, and Chimaeras dire, the Furies and Minotaurs that they created in themselves, found, faced, and mastered.

The printed page of Miss Hamilton's book is a delight to read; and even the jacket contributes to its enjoyment, its clean blue and white bringing to mind the flag of Greece, the skies and the streets and the houses of Athens.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

The Nazi "State"

THE NAZI STATE. By William Ebenstein. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.75.

THE battle against the onslaught of Nazi ideas is not yet won. To this day, serious writings about Nazism are a mere trickle if compared with the stream of Nazi-tainted clichés which are assiduously put forward under many a disguise. True, Hitler's most ghastly crimes are generally despised in so far as they receive publicity, though some—for example, the mass sterilization and eugenic murder of "Aryan" Germans—have received little attention. Yet on certain vital questions—the sources of Nazism, the real mistakes of the Versailles treaty, the social changes wrought by Nazism, the relative strength of pseudo-nationalism and pseudo-socialism in National Socialism, the technique by which a punctilious Nazified bureaucracy has been able to dispense with legality yet still keep a government running, to mention just a few—there exists as yet not even general agreement among the professional students of politics.

Whoever writes about the Nazi government runs two dangers. If he tries to present it in terms commonly used to describe the familiar traits of the American scene, he may easily obscure the degenerate monstrousness of Nazism. And if he stresses the irregularity of the Nazi structure, the irregularity not only in a moral and ethical sense but in the techniques and handicraft of government and the variegated aspects of political life, he may obscure the international ramifications of Nazism and the existence of similar trends in contemporary societies outside of Germany.

Professor Ebenstein has faced and mastered this dilemma in an exemplary way. Those who study his book will recognize that its very title, if properly understood, is a sort of danger signal because it expresses a contradiction in terms. He calls his book "The Nazi State," but to speak of a Nazi state is the same as to speak of "the biased judge" or "the square circle." The Nazi state is not a state in the accepted sense. This is not a question of terminology. It goes to the root of the matter. Ever since the emergence in the Western world of a pattern of independent states living side by side, it has been axiomatic that the two essential elements of a state are a definite population and a definite territory. A people forms a state when it exercises exclusive jurisdiction over a particular portion of the world's surface—their "country." Citizenry and territory—these are not only two necessary concomitants but two limitations of every state. Otherwise, the coexistence of a plurality of independent states becomes impossible. In order to have such a thing as a comity of nations, the nations must exist side by side, and not inside of each other. But this, among many other fundamentals, the Nazis boldly deny. They destroyed the very concept of citizenry by outlawing part of their own citizens, and by unilaterally extending their jurisdiction over persons living outside of Germany and owing allegiance to other states. At the same time they destroyed the very concept of the state territory by extending their political activities all over the world.

Nazi "diplomats" behave not very differently before and after the actual military occupation of foreign countries. From the outset the Nazis not only mutilated the school curricula in Bavaria, but through various methods of direct action worked for the same thing in Hungary and Bulgaria; they harassed freedom-loving persons not only in Berlin but also in Ankara; and John Schmidt of New York or Juan Schmidt of Buenos Aires was to be forced into the self-same worldwide S. A. as Johann Schmidt of Breslau.

The author clarifies the basic anomalies of Nazism by "translating" them into the categories of accepted political institutions, taking great care, however, to show how much the meaning of these institutions has been twisted by that regime. He describes, for example, how "the citizen has been deprived of protection against illegal acts of officials." But he makes it clear that a Nazi "citizen" is not an equal among equals but a person who keeps a precarious place in a hierarchy of varying levels of inequality; that a Nazi "official" is neither elected by the people nor appointed by somebody responsible to them; that there is no judicial review, and if there were the judge could not possibly be impartial; and that, finally, it is mere negligence on the part of the ruling clique if "illegal" acts, that is, acts contrasting with

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statutory regulations, happen at all, since the Nazi top men can issue and amend and repeal whatever ukase they wish, and this will be "the law."

With equal clarity the author analyzes the devices used by the Nazis to romanticize their real aims. They organized their industry, for instance, along "corporate" or "estate" (*Stände*) lines. In reality, they combined the machinery of cartels with a militarized one-party rule and strictest police dictatorship, and then coated the whole mixture with Gothic turrets suggesting medieval "Meistersinger" coziness "without class differentiations."

The book complains little and explains much. It combines with extraordinary poise factual information and penetrating analysis. Everything is set out straightforwardly. At times the thoughtful frugality of the presentation is interrupted by just one or two tersely ironic and irate lines—which is like taking a breath of clean air but only in order to return immediately to the duty of exploring the morass which threatens to engulf us all.

HANS ERNEST FRIED

Fairy Tales for Guernica's Children

BLOOD FOR A STRANGER. By Randall Jarrell. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

IN MOST of its usual connotations "lyricist" is not the word for Randall Jarrell. Despite his sensitive ear for sound values, no one would try to sing these elaborate chants of horror. His elaborate accentual line—Audenesque but used with greater control than by Auden himself—inclines toward the pole of meaning rather than toward the pole of form. Yet the poems have more in common with the lyric than the fact that they are short. What Jarrell has done more effectively than his contemporaries is to condense the impact of his time, the time of Guernica and Munich, into a personal experience. This experience is not a representation, however dislocated, of the events which prompted it, but of their effects in a consciousness that has sought to shut out the events themselves while giving free play to their flotsam from the subconscious. We are shown not the air raid but the nightmares of a precocious child trying to sleep through it in a bomb shelter.

The child, as I have said, is precocious; it is one who has meditated sharply on science, politics, and metaphysics. The vision is none the less a child's, and, so we must suppose, with intent. Picasso drew upon children's art, with its blatant sheer colors and its sacrifices of grace and perspective to expression, in order to give supreme visual fixation to the agony of a period which could be adequately symbolized only in terms of regression to the infantile. For Jarrell, similarly, the relentless settling of Western civilization to its nadir could find its appropriate emotion only in a child's cataleptic fears and oppressions. To the child, living in the moment, pain is utter, unrelieved by memory or hope:

> . . . nothing comes from nothing,
> The darkness from the darkness. Pain comes
> from the darkness
> And we call it wisdom. It is pain.

So the imagery of the poems is that of drowning, of polar cold, of the doctor's waiting-room, of the solitary journey to a foreign city, and, above all, of the fairy tale with its inexplicably malignant witches and ogres. For Guernica's maidens the fairy godmother never came, and the prince sat across the waters clipping his coupons.

Jarrell's poetry is not, except by indirection, of the kind that we have been accustomed to label "social criticism." It seeks to isolate the evil of the day and make it into an eternal form of evil. And so we have the circumstantial sins of the "ego" foreshortened into the dumb writhings of the "id." Since the "id" is always with us, it would be incorrect to call such writing topical. The change of mood that has accompanied our passing from inaction to action does not invalidate a mood that may recur, and that in any case was valid for its circumstances.

A more appropriate judgment would be that Jarrell has pretty thoroughly explored the vein in which his first book was formed—for the "id's" habits are listed and obstinate—and that a second volume in this vein could be little more than repetition. A shift in the objects of attention would involve also a change in technique. There is at present, however, no reason to predict insuperable limitations on a talent that has the resources of thought and feeling to produce passages such as the following:

> From the disintegrating bomber, the mercenary
> Who has sown without hatred or understanding
> The shells of the absolute world that flowers
> In the confused air of the dying city
> Plunges for his instant of incandescence, acquiesces
> In our death and his own, and welcome
> The fall of the western hegemonies.

PHILIP BLAIR RICE

Drama Note

DARK EYES" is certainly one of those titles which once heard is never remembered. It happens, however, to belong to a very pleasant little farce comedy now current at the Belasco and is worth writing down for those who would like an evening of light entertainment less witlessly noisy than most of the current farces. The subject is amiable prewar Russians in a quiet Long Island household; the authors are Elena Miramova and Eugenie Leontovich, who ought to know their characters. And if nothing very new is said about the Russian soul in its comic aspects, at least the topic can still be amusing when handled with wit. The Misses Miramova and Leontovich act their own roles, and there were times when I wondered whether they made Russians behave so precisely as Americans suppose they do merely because the Misses Miramova and Leontovich have been here long enough to see themselves through our eyes or whether, surprisingly enough, Russians really are (or were) like that; but I will leave the determination of this fine point to others better qualified. One proverb I liked very much both for its hearty downrightness and for the fact that I imagine it is useful in many contexts other than the amorous: "If you love me do not hesitate to say so right out—but please stop pinching my leg."

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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ART

CUBIST, ABSTRACT, SURREALIST ART. Guggenheim Collection. Art of this Century Gallery. Permanent.

A tendency dominant in painting since cubism is that which, by means of abstraction, collage, construction, and the use of extraneous elements such as paper, cloth, sand, cement, wood, string, metal, and so forth, tries almost literally to disembowel the painting. Its pictorial content no less than the physical fact of the canvas itself is to enter the actual presence of the spectator on the same terms, and as completely, as do the walls, the furniture, and people. What takes place within the borders of the picture has the same immediate status as the borders themselves. The new gallery Frederick J. Kiesler has designed for the Guggenheim collection of modern art carries this tendency to an ultimate conclusion by still other means. Unframed paintings are suspended in mid-air by ropes running from ceiling to floor, hung on panels at right angles to the wall, thrust out from concave walls on arms, placed on racks at knee level, or, with seeming paradox, put into peepshows and view-boxes.

That Mr. Kiesler knows what he is about is evidenced by this last; for paintings by Klee are seen in the peepshow and view-boxes; and Klee was almost alone among the more abstract artists to maintain the fictive nature of the world within the picture frame. And in a different way Marcel Duchamp insisted upon the same thing in his little quasi-cubist paintings, shown here —with less success—in a glass cage.

The surrealist pictures, thrust out on rods from tunnel-like walls, seem, because of the dramatic lighting, which switches at intervals from one group of canvases to another, to hang in indefinite space. This is exactly right, because it emphasizes that traditional discontinuity between the spectator and the space within the picture to which most of the surrealists have returned.

Except for the surrealist room, the gallery is, however, a little crowded and scrappy. Mr. Kiesler overdid the functionalism in not providing the other rooms with a more unified background. The ropes should have been covered with dark cloth and the walls toned more darkly to set off the high-keyed colors and pale tints of the abstract and cubist paintings. As it is, the eye is unable to isolate them easily.

Nevertheless, the décor does create a sense of exhilaration and provides a relief from other usually over-upholstered or over-sanitary museums and galleries. And inadequate as it may be in each single department, the collection itself is one of the most comprehensive in this country of cubist, abstract, and surrealist art as a whole. In addition to the very fine Klee in the peepshow, there is a large orange painting by Ernst and a classical view by Chirico which are the best examples of these artists' work I have seen in this country.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

MUSIC

AS IN Strauss's orchestral works after "Don Quixote" or "Ein Heldenleben" so in his operas after "Salome" one hears prodigious technical powers which continue undiminished while the musical thinking they serve deteriorates in appalling fashion. "Der Rosenkavalier" provides an enjoyable evening; but what is enjoyable is von Hoffmannstahl's play, with which one hears now and then a bit of pretty music like the tenor's aria, the Princess's monologue, the Presentation of the Rose, the third-act trio and finale, but which one enjoys even during the long stretches when the music is nothing more than expertly contrived sounds with no significance in themselves or in relation to words and action.

In "Elektra" too it is what happens on the stage that is moving, not the music. It is, for example, the great scene of Elektra's recognition of Orestes, not the pretty tune which she is given to sing, and which is even less adequate to its situation than the music for the Princess's thoughts on old age in "Der Rosenkavalier." And elsewhere in the opera the music is again mere sounds shrieked by the voices and crashed out by the orchestra—sounds which exercise the power not of musical expressiveness in relation to words and action, but of mere physical assault on the ear.

"Salome," however, not only offers the Oscar Wilde play, which makes an excellent opera libretto, and which calls for precisely the luxuriant style of Strauss's musical writing; but this time Strauss achieves expressive vocal declamation and orchestral comment, underlining, and intensification which culminate in the powerful concluding scene with the head—though the score also has its vulgarities which culminate in the dreadful dance of the Seven Veils.

The performance of "Salome" that I attended at the Metropolitan was superb in every respect. Lily Djanel's Salome was not without its operatic mannerisms and excesses; but they were few, and were only slight flaws in an impersonation notable for the plastic economy with which its high degree of dramatic effectiveness was achieved; and to her remarkable achievement of dancing the Dance of the Seven Veils plausibly she added the more important one of singing all the music which preceded the dance in a way that left her able to cope with the cruelly taxing climaxes of the finale. Frederick Jagel is someone I normally don't enjoy watching or hearing; but that liquid-brass timbre of his voice was excellent for the part of Herod, and when he didn't fling himself about he did some effective and amusing things in the part—for example his triumphant "Er hat deinen Namen nicht genannt!" to Herodias. Julius Huehn's rough-textured baritone was good for the part of Jokonaan, and despite a plumpness where he should have been gaunt he was an impressive figure while he stood motionless on the edge of the cistern; only when his arms began to make their wooden movements did this impressiveness crumble. There were such slight imperfections in a performance that was admirably put together on the stage by Herbert Graf; and George Szell, whose conducting of a Mozart program with the New Friends of Music Orchestra last season was quite unexciting, achieved a magnificent statement of Strauss's score in living sound this time.

At the performance were a number of soldiers and sailors — including some who evidently were not among the men pining for good music at the camps, for they struggled unsuccessfully to keep from falling asleep; and one of them, awakened by the final crash of the orchestra, muttered: "What's goin' on?" Even the ones who had stayed awake may have asked this question when they saw Salome wrapping herself around a silver plate on which was a not especially enticing piece of white cheesecloth —the Metropolitan touch of this production. And before that they had appeared to be baffled, as well they might be, by forty-five minutes of operatic fun consisting of Salvatore Baccaloni's huffing and puffing and eye-rolling and Bidu Sayao's hands-on-hips pertness in the endless recitatives of Pergolesi's "Serva Padrona," the persistence of which in the Metropolitan's repertory is a greater mystery to me each time I have to sit through its dulness.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

The Teacher's Problem

Dear Sirs: Agnes Benedict's article Violence in the Classroom is timely and important in acquainting the public with the need for enlarged school services for children in war time, and for the spread of progressive methods of teaching. It should be noted, however, that the strength of the reactionary educators lies in a large measure in the impossible situations in which teachers find themselves. Regard for the individual child in an atmosphere of harmony and constructive effort is essential to the newer concepts. The teacher confronted with a large, difficult class becomes discouraged by the threat of defeat and frustration and falls back on the old disciplinary methods which make for efficiency, though at the cost of vital education.

The article has the following error of fact: "The Teachers' Guild of the American Federation of Labor joined with the reactionary Teachers' Alliance in demanding that the police commissioner send officers into the schools." The Teachers' Guild, Local 2, was the only organization which appealed to Police Commissioner Valentine for greater police protection for the schools. This appeal was made for police assistance in ejecting *unruly intruders* from the schools, for the protection of children and teachers alike. The Teachers' Guild, Local 2, has not joined in any action with the Teachers' Alliance. The programs of the organizations vary widely in both philosophy and method. The only reason for associating the two groups is the fact that both recognize the growing delinquency and want something to be done about it.

The public was confused by the deliberate misinterpretation of our action as calling for "the use of cops' nightsticks to discipline children" by the Mayor and by one discredited teacher group which in 1941 was expelled from the American Federation of Labor.

We believe that the guild's action, together with the publicizing of its comprehensive program for the curbing and prevention of delinquency, has made clear some important truths about the interdependence of social, public, and civic agencies in facing the delinquency problem. For more than a quarter of a century the union movement among teachers has emphasized the need for teachers to view their problems in the light of the needs of the entire community. As a labor-affiliated teacher group, the guild accepts its responsibility to facilitate and encourage, both inside and outside the school system, the appreciation of the need for an immediate, integrated attack against the conditions that produce juvenile delinquency.

REBECCA C. SIMONSON, President,
New York Teachers' Guild, Local 2,
American Federation of Labor

New York, January 16

The Job to Be Done

Dear Sirs: With the war going as well for the United Nations as it is, one is tempted to accept many faults of which one should be critical. In the air corps, the lack of any discussion of current events, of why we are fighting, of the world after the war is a serious defect. As far as I can judge, the technical training is excellent. There is a shortage of good instructors but that is explainable.

The discipline is poorly administered. We are treated like boy scouts rather than soldiers. Soon the men lose respect for their superiors and practically disobey them. This is in regard to small matters. When one discusses the problem with the fellows who "goldbrick" and disobey, it is interesting to find out that they know they are doing wrong. They are not just lazy or unpatriotic. They are fed up with the childish way they are treated and the lack of responsibility given to them. For instance, here we keep our barracks cleaner than ever before—and there are no non-coms living with us or yelling at us.

The singing situation is perhaps the best illustration. In the air corps we have to sing when marching. Our superiors order us to sing as soon as we step off—even at 7 a. m. on dark mornings. Well, the fellows just refuse. In every situation, however, where it is natural for men to sing, they sing, and in a spirited fashion. The air corps has about six songs they order us to sing. We refuse to sing them. We sing our own songs and they are very lusty.

Very, very few of these fellows are aware of what is going on politically. They are too concerned with their own day-to-day existence. We need a rude awakening. I am most concerned about the post-war situation. If victory comes with too little suffering, America will not have learned how the world has changed. People applaud Willkie's speeches about Russia and China and then damn Roosevelt, whose feelings are much more genuine.

The more I think about the problem in the army, the more convinced I am of the need for those who feel as we do to get together and go to work on the men around us. Union members, liberals of all sorts, etc., should get together and start discussion groups. When I get permanently set I hope to do something of the sort. There is so much free time in the army that could be well used instead of wasted. Is anyone doing anything about it? If so let me know so that we can share experiences. The job can be done. The men will respond when properly approached. They simply do not have the initiative and do not realize the importance of it.

AIR TRAINEE

Somewhere in the U. S., December 3

One for Agee

Dear Sirs: Your newest film critic, Mr. James Agee, is excellent. His style I thought both swift and refreshing. Unfortunately once a month is not very often for such a column.

I sincerely hope more of his work will be forthcoming, as do my friends.

ALVIN LUKASLOK

New York, January 20

A Sponsor Protests

Dear Sirs: Your newest film critic, Mr. International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, received a communication from you on the letterhead of *The Nation* asking me, as manager of Local 155, to be one of the sponsors for a testimonial dinner for ex-United States Senator George W. Norris. We were only too glad to join in honoring this outstanding fighter for justice, Negro rights, and civil liberties. We understood that this testimonial dinner was in no sense a rally for political parties or political groups, especially since the sponsor list included individuals from many different political groups and parties. It was a tribute to George W. Norris, and it was only on this understanding that many individuals agreed to serve as sponsors.

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The testimonial dinner included a broad gathering ranging from employers to labor leaders, Republicans, Democrats, and representatives of the American Labor Party and the Social Democratic Federation. After looking over the list of sponsors, we noticed that Norman Thomas, one of the outstanding liberal citizens and fighters for civil liberties and justice in our country, was not on the list. After questioning some people, we were informed that Norman Thomas was not invited to be one of the sponsors.

As one who disagrees with Norman Thomas on many problems, just as I disagree with many of the individuals and the Union for Democratic Action as a whole in principle, I believe that that was not the issue in this case. Because of the desire to honor George W. Norris, I overlooked, as many others did, that some political groups or splinter groups might utilize George W. Norris for their narrow sectarian aims. As a trade unionist, I know that Norman Thomas has contributed to the trade unions probably more than many of those who claim today to be a liberal driving force in our country. We did not act as sponsors or as participants to George W. Norris's testimonial to give prestige to the Union for Democratic Action or to Freda Kirchwey or any other individual.

We don't want to make a political issue of the George W. Norris testimonial at this moment, but many individuals present at the testimonial are indignant that Norman Thomas was not invited as one of the sponsors. We believe that no political group had the right to utilize George W. Norris for their own narrow personal political gains.

While many of these so-called liberals of the Union for Democratic Action may serve reaction in the future as some of them have done recently, Norman Thomas will still be in the ranks of labor and fighting for a better world to live in.

LOUIS NELSON, Manager-Secretary,
Knitgoods Workers' Union, Local 155
New York, January 9

[In arranging the dinner to Senator Norris it was decided quite deliberately that invitations to be sponsors or speakers should not be extended to men who have been fundamentally opposed to the war and to the whole anti-Axis policy which led up to the war and gives it meaning. To the people who organized the dinner the idea of inviting isolationists and pacifists to take part would have seemed entirely inappropriate.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Caste and Vocation

Dear Sirs: Dr. Niebuhr, in his review of Shridharani's "Warning to the West" in *The Nation* of January 2, speaks of the Indian caste system as "the most rigid form of class snobbishness in history." One could not have a better illustration of the fallacy of claiming that the form of one's own government "is the best, not for himself only, but also for the rest of mankind" (Franz Boas, cited in the same issue). In the first place, it may be observed that no snobbishness can exist where there is no social ambition: Indians do not, like Americans, have to keep up with the Joneses. And let me add that the form of his social order is the last thing that it would occur to an Indian to apologize for, when he compares it with the informality of Western proletarian industrialisms. I say "industrialisms" rather than "democracies" because in these so-called self-governing societies the Indian sees nothing that can be compared with the really democratic character of the internal self-government of his own castes or guilds and his own village communities.

It has been very truly pointed out by A. M. Hocart, author of "Les Castes" (Paris, 1938), probably the best book on the subject available, that "hereditary service is quite incompatible with our industrialism, and *that is why* it is always painted in such dark colors." Mr. Hocart also points out that we must not be frightened by the connotations of the European words that are used to translate Indian terms. The caste system, he says, is not one of oppression, "but, on the contrary, may be much less oppressive than our industrial system." The members of the most menial castes are charged with certain functions; but there is no one who can *compel* them to perform them, otherwise than by the employment of a proper etiquette, addressing them with requests and treating them with respect.

Traditional societies of the Indian type are based on vocation. The vocation is sacred, and one's descendants in due course take one's place in the framework of society for the fulfilment of what is strictly speaking a ministration (it was for exactly the same reason that Plato held that we owe it to society to beget successors). If the Indian has no children, this can be remedied by adoption; but if one's children adopt another profession than their father's, that is the end of the "family" as such; its honor is no more, and that holds as much for the lowest as for the highest

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functionaries of the hierarchy. As Margaret Mead in her recent book, "And Keep Your Powder Dry," has shown, the reverse situation in America, where "success" is thought of only in terms of social ambition and one therefore chooses a profession in which one can outshine one's parents, has precisely this destructive effect.

From the Indian point of view, social function or vocation is predetermined by a man's own innermost nature; and for that reason "success" in the Indian sense of self-perfecting is only possible in that type of activity to which one has been "called." On the other hand, as Margaret Mead has also pointed out, "the man who has shifted, easily and unworried so long as the pay was good, from one job to another, has no deep respect for himself." From an Indian point of view, to be able to adopt any profession at will, merely as a job and in order to earn money, as if the profession had nothing to do with one's innermost character, can only lead, in the words of René Guénon, to "the pure and 'inorganic' multiplicity of a kind of social atomism, and . . . to the exercise of a purely mechanical activity in which nothing properly human subsists."

The disastrous effects of Western contacts on traditional societies lie just there —that the vocational basis of the society is destroyed, and the worker reduced to the status of a "job man," usually a mere producer of raw materials; and if it may appear on the surface to be the European's arrogance that earns him the dislike of the Oriental, it is this destruction of his honor that even more, although perhaps less consciously, arouses the Oriental's anger. As Gandhi has said, India has been ground down, not so much under the British heel, as under that of modern civilization.

I have not written this letter because I feel called upon to come to India's defense, which would be unnecessary; but because it has become so urgent a necessity for Americans to be able to meet the members of other civilizations without condescension. There is only too much danger that after this war is over, Americans may still believe that they have a civilizing mission. It would not be too much to say that the greatest cultural deficiency of Europeans at the present day is their inability to meet the members of other civilizations on equal terms. Peace will be impossible until the West abandons its self-righteousness and "proselytizing fury." Dr. Niebuhr's general treatment is very fair, but still he does not understand the Indian point of view as well as Indians understand the American. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

Boston, Mass., January 5

I don't think it adequate to describe and justify the Hindu caste system purely in the idealistic terms of "hereditary service" or vocational dedication. The most basic class distinctions of India were derived from conquest. The word used for them denotes "color," and to this day a racial difference between the Aryan conquerors and the indigenous population is perpetuated in the caste system. Furthermore lower castes are subject to serious disabilities, economic, political, and cultural. The religious doctrine of transmigration frequently justifies caste injustices by which the conscience would be otherwise revolted. One might ask in conclusion in what sense the poor outcastes can achieve any sense of human dignity "based on vocation." REINHOLD NIEBUHR

New York, January 15

Parnassus in Jersey

Dear Sirs: A group of liberals, with an artistic and literary flair, have organized a social, discussion, and arts club in Jersey City. They lack sufficient funds to furnish their club rooms. Any generous and sympathetic reader who may care to donate furniture, pictures, paintings, prints, bric-a-brac, vases, drapes, books, etc., which might otherwise be discarded, is implored to communicate with the writer. We will gladly call for these donations, and put them to good use in a city where free discussion and cultural edification are sorely needed.

J. OWEN GRUNDY, President pro tem.
The Parnassus Club, Jersey City, N. J.

December 29

Negroes and the War

Dear Sirs: This is just a note of thanks for the publication of the article entitled Harlem at War by Charles Williams.

It is particularly fortunate that *The Nation* ran this article after the distorted one by Warren H. Brown in the *Reader's Digest* entitled A Negro Warns the Negro Press.

On the day Mr. Williams's article was published, I received a letter directly from Pearl Buck. This was a copy of the letter written to Mr. Angell, the president of the Council for Democracy. Miss Buck very vigorously took issue with the Warren Brown article.

It is particularly heart-warming to know that there are some people who understand Negro leadership and the Negro press—people who know that we are not against America but for it, and because we are for it so vigorously we want to share all of its burdens and all of its victories.

A. CLAYTON POWELL, JR.

New York, January 19

Sacco-Vanzetti Case

Dear Sirs: I am undertaking a study of the way in which the Sacco-Vanzetti case has contributed to American literature. If *Nation* readers know of any pertinent references, may I ask them to send them to me at the University of Texas? G. LOUIS JOUGHIN

Austin, Tex., January 5

CONTRIBUTORS

HIRAM MOTHERWELL was formerly foreign correspondent for the Chicago *Daily News*. His article is a chapter of a new book, "The Peace We Fight For," to be published next month by Harper and Brothers.

W. ADOLPHE ROBERTS is the author of "The Caribbean," "The French in the West Indies," and other books.

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MILDRED ADAMS has for many years been closely in touch with cultural affairs in Spain and Latin America.

M. W. FODOR was for many years foreign correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* and the Chicago *Daily News*. He now writes a column on international affairs for the Chicago *Sun*.

ROLPHE HUMPHRIES has recently published a book of verse entitled "Out of the Jewel."

HANS ERNEST FRIED, author of "The Guilt of the German Army," is in the Department of Government of the College of the City of New York.

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